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The Allocation and Relocation of Identities: Colonialism, Nationalism, Transnationalism

The title of this paper brings to mind the image of national cultures and national identities; or as I propose, the "hybrid" and the "transnational" open up the negative space of the "national." "Hybrid cultures" and "transnational identities" become then part of the oppositional process of relocating cultures and identities in a conflictive dialogue with the colonial allocation of cultures and national allocation of identities. I am assuming that "identities" are not only constructions, but also dialogical constructions that are the same as those inscribed in power structures. The process also demands the uncoupling of cultures and territories that colonial and nation building ideologies so successfully put together. While colonialism allocated identities by distributing, over five centuries, homogeneous cultures across space first (e.g., the distant barbarians), and in a time line later (e.g., the human scale from primitives to European during the 18th century, formalized by Hegel's lesson on the philosophy of history), nationalism operated by linking cultures to territorial delimitation within a space surrounded by frontiers, which at the same time, created the distinctions between the native and the foreigner. "Native" has different meanings whether one considers it within the colonial or the national discourse. In colonial discourse the native is the other, while in national discourse the native is the same.

Colonial and national self-descriptions, during the past 500 hundred years, did not allow room for transnational conceptualizations, even when migrations increased with the emergence of new technologies (e.g., the steamboat and the railroad, in mid-19th century, and the aircraft in the 20th). However, means of transportation were just a way to satisfy a desire for "better" (e.g., changing) living conditions, which were increasingly defined in terms of possessions and commodities, the gold of the New World as dreamt of by the Spanish conquistadores. Transnationalism begins to make sense or to acquire a very particular meaning, after the 70's when economic corporations began to operate beyond the control of the nation state and, by doing so, unwillingly uncoupled cultures from territories. Transnational corporations were and are not particularly concerned with national cultures; capitalism, in other words, is detaching itself from the colonial/imperial and national/territorial discourses. Cultural values are being displaced by market forces, commodities take priority

over national symbols, consumerism and mass-media rather than national values are shaping the new forms of citizenship (Garcia-Canclini 1995). Thus, if hybrid cultures and transnational identities could be located as a research project in different times and places, the 16th century Spanish emphasis on "purity of blood" and the "unity of language" created the conditions for the description and implementation of a set of values in which the "hybrid" was devalued and the transnational was unthinkable. Colonialism was "transnational" although colonial discourse did not conceptualize the relationships between the metropolis and the colonies as a transnational one. Until the end of the 18th century, the idea of nation state that began to emerge in the "heart of Europe" (England, France, Germany) was not yet in place. From the 19th century on, the idea of the "nation" (be it in Europe where nations were also empires or in the Americas where nations where emerging "independents" from the empire), and of a new social role (the "national citizen"), began to take center stage in building new communities through national identities. Subsumed under the new state allocation; a bureaucratic organization (citizen) was coupled with an imagined community (flag, national anthem, national language, literature and history).

Partha Chatterjee (1993: 228) questioned Charles Taylor's (1989) characterization of European social thought divided into five distinct ideas that contributed to theproduction in Europe of the concept of civil society as separated from the state: 1) the medieval idea that society is not identical to its political organization; 2) the Christian idea of the church as an independent society; 3) the development within feudalism of a legal notion of subjective rights; 4) the growth in medieval Europe of relatively independent, self-governing cities; 5) the secular dualism of the medieval policy in which a monarch ruled with the intermittent and uncertain support of a body of states. Charterjee's disagreement is laid out on three grounds:

a. It would not be surprising if one finds in the premodern histories of other, non-European countries similar features in state-society relations.

b. It is also difficult to explain why, if European thought is indeed conditioned by these specifics, people from Poland or the Philippines or Nicaragua should appeal to these philosophers from Great Britain, France or Germany to think out and justify what they do to their own societies and states.

c. Chaterjee's location of the turn around, the moment in which provincial European thought become universal philosophy, and the parochial history of Europe into universal history, is the moment of

capital: "capital that is global in its territorial reach and universal in its conceptual domain. It is the narrative of capital that can turn the violence of mercantilist trade, war, genocide, conquest, and colonialims into a story of universal progress, development, modernization, and freedom" (Chatterjee 1993: 235).

While I generally agree with this scenario of locating the transition from Europe as one of many civilized centers on the planet to the one that becomes the emblem and the yardstick of civilization, the remaining issue is related to the transition from mercantilism to the Christian universal mission and ambition. The fact remains that the convergence of capitalism with the emergence of a secular nation state, makes it possible to supersede the Christian aim by replacing the conversion of pagans into Christians and vassals of the king by the mission of converting barbarians into civilized citizens, members of the civil society in the new nation-states. In this reconversion something was changed radically: the transnational character of religious communities and membership was transformed into the national character of national communities and their members, the citizens. While the production of Christian identity was one of the main goals of early colonialism, the production of citizen was one of the main goals of the emerging nation states. Religion and race in the 16th century, languages and race from the 19th century on, still remain major sources of conflict at the intersection of local histories and global designs; between allocation and re(al)location of identities. Globalization and transnational capitalism are creating the condition for the reinscription of religious movements which are constantly reminding us that the subordination of religion to nation was an illusion created and maintained by the powerful ideology of nation building.

In Latin America, however, the notion of mestizaje, in the process of nation building replace the Spanish colonial belief in purity of blood. Latin America nation builders maintained, however, the Spanish colonial idea of the unity of language. Thus, while hybridity on the one hand is an attempt to escape the allocation of national identities, mestizaje in Latin America is a kind of hybridity that worked the other way around: in post-revolutionary Mexico (1910), "mestizaje" became the trademark of the new revolutionary nationalism. In fact, "Creole patriotism" in the first hour of decolonization (roughly 1821-1855), turned back to the Indian past to carve a new form of identity, which drifted away from the identity allocation the "patriots" had been subjected to under colonial regime. In a way, the independence was the moment in which an underground form of relocation at work during the colonial period became, if not hegemonic, at least dominant; Creole

patriotism relocated the identity of a community under colonial rule, a community that was positioning itself to be the agent of successive identity allocation in the process of nation building. In order words, the process of identification related to power is always twofold, allocation/relocation. By relocating themselves as New Mexicans the new community of nation builders were distinguishing themselves from the *gachupines* of Spanish and European origin and descent. They also established new alliances with the modern European states, and at the same time, took a critical distance from Spain, not only because of its role as a previous colonial power, but also because Spain was losing, in the 19th century, the clout it had in the concert of the European nations in the 16th and 17th centuries.

By the beginning of the 20th century, however, the situation had changed drastically. New class configurations and structures of power brought a new ideology and a mestizo nationalism emerged as form of relocating national identities over the legacies of Creole patriotism. While mestizo nationalism built national identity claiming their own will to descend from Aztec peoples, and relocating themselves as New Mexicans, it celebrated racial mix (after the 1910 revolution). Racial mestizaje went together with the repudiation of the diversity of languages spoken in the national territory. This politics of language "also negated the right to the existence of the many ethnic groups that still survived, generally termed Indians" (Turner 1968). In its search for national identity, the mestizo state could not afford to maintain vestiges of pre-Hispanic or colonial society, and the continuing presence of separate cultures within Mexico was living proof of this past. Mestizo nationalism had to domesticate that memory and thus frame their own will to descent in an identity derived from both Spaniards and Indians, which offered them an interesting identity relocation by establishing authenticity on the grounds of hybridity. Mestizo nationalism's relocation of national identities had to re-arrange the role of the Indians in the new order of things. The Indian communities were contradictory to the aspiration of national identity and created conflicts with the modern ideas of equality and the rights of man. To deal with the question of race, mestizo nationalism proposed to change the identification of Indians based on racial configuration, and to replace it by a class kind of identification: "labrador-pobre." Thus, the relocation of national identity embraced the principles of European modernity, of social Darwinism, self-locating mestizo nationalism in the frame of civilization and modernization of the country. The United States remained in the shadows, and was being countered indirectly by the confidence the discourse of mestizo nationalism manifested in

the superiority of European civilization. That was indeed a belief extended throughout Latin America. Things began to change toward 1970, when hybrid cultures where articulated beyond mestizo nationalism, and reframed in the context of transnational identification.

I needed this previous summary to give some grounding to the following considerations, emphasizing colonialism and transnationalism rather than nationalism. I will consider hybrid cultures first. García-Canclini (1989) states that hybrid cultures are basically understood as cultural productions whose final product results in the displacement of existing paradigms. Or, confronting cultural hybrid objects, the reader, observer or consumer, faces an object pointing toward different paradigms. Those paradigms have been constructed in the complicity between modernity and nationalism, and hybrid cultural production (which I prefer to hybrid cultures), are processes searching to transcend or deviate from the control of modern and national paradigms. Among them, the allocation/relocation of national identities, Canclini's concept of hybrid cultures is articulated in the frame of modernity, and his paradigmatic examples of hybridity articulated are consumerism and mass media, mainly in an urban setting. However, he has devoted one chapter of his book (1989) to the kind of hybridity articulated in borderlands. Canclini's case study was Tijuana.

I am bringing this observation to the fore to compare it with the use of the term "hybridity" by Homi Bhabha (1994). I will start with Robert Young's interpretation of Bhabha's hybridity (1995). While for Canclini hybridity is closely connected to modernity, for Bhabha it is linked to colonialism (perhaps one could say coloniality to draw a parallel with modernity). Bhabha, according to Young, describes hybridity as a problematic of colonial representation that reverses the effects of the colonialist disavowal; in such a way that the other denied knowledge enters into the dominant discourse and estranges the basis of authority (Young 1995: 23). Thus, hybridity is located in the production of colonial discourse: colonial discourse produces hybridization and not just the enactment of colonial authority, which represses and reduces native traditions to silence. More recently, Bhabha has attempted to articulate hybridity as a "Third Space," a force enacting political changes, as far as the rearticulation or translation of elements are neither/nor one thing or the other, but a third one. At this point, Young observes, "hybridity begins to become the form of cultural difference itself, the jarring of a differentiated culture whose "hybrid counter-energies" ... challenge the centered, dominant *cultural norms with their unsettling perplexities generated out of their "disjunctive,*

liminal space." Hybridity here becomes a third term which can never in fact be third because, as a monstruous inversion, a mistreated perversion of its progenitors, it exhausts the differences between them" (Young 1995: 23). At this point, I would add that hybridity as displacement of dominant cultural norms in Bhabha is very close to hybridity, as displacement of existing in Canclini. The main differences remain in the fact that for Canclini the main concern is modernity and for Bhabha, coloniality. These differences are clearly due to the particular colonial histories and legacies of British colonialism in India, and Spanish/Portuguese colonialism in Latin America; that is, the nation building process in the 19th century in Latin America chronologically corresponds to a nationalism within a colonial regime in India. By colonial legacies I mean the interaction in making history of existing communities (in India and Latin America), their particular configuration and their negotiations, survival, and adaptation, resistance under and to colonial rule.

Let me now consider transnational identities and examine three historical moments in which successive migrations were creating transcultural, if not transnational, identities in the modern world: the moment of explorations and settlements where migration was mainly performed by conquistadors and settlers. In this question the identity of the transient people was not so much in question, as the identity of the natives, who had to negotiate their existing way of life with a new societal regime imposed upon them. The feeling of fractured identities began to emerge from the side of the "colonized" in the process of relocating themselves in response to colonial discourse, which was allocating them as savages, cannibals, or, in the best of all possible worlds, less civilized. The second historical moment is the massive migration between 1860 (approximately) and World War I (with more intensity), and until World War II (with less intensity). Migration, at this period, was related to the invention of the steamboat able to carry large contingents of people across the ocean and to the railroad, which began to cross the land not only in Europe, but also in Africa and Asia. While the first migratory movements preceded the modern nation state, the second one was at the core of it. Citizenship and nationality were two frames in which migrants had to deal; citizenship became the main strategy for the control and order of society. National identity was strictly related to citizenship and to education. Trans-national identities were out of the question, since the ultimate frame was the nation: if one was not a citizen of the nation, one was a foreigner. The dividing line was the frontier of the nation, separating not only one country from another, but the citizens from the foreigners.

Transnational identities (migrations, second and third generations of migrant communities) offer the possibility of rethinking (in the academic world) the distinction between citizen and foreigner, and for the agents in these kinds of processes, transnational identities offer the possibility of describing (e.g., identifying) themselves differently, not as people caught between the citizen and the foreigner, but as new situations of transnational identities (cfr. Lisa Lowe's work on Asian immigrants and Asian-Americans, and Wing-Cheung Ng's work on local born descendants in the Chinese diaspora). I will now examine the distinction between civic and ethnic nations. Civic nations are the administrative sphere of the citizen; ethnic nations, the domain of the citizen's cultural configuration. National identities were created by the coupling of these two spheres. Transnational identities (as well as a critical conception of multiculturalism), force us to uncouple them. Separating the civic from the ethnic identities within the nation is the necessary step to break the illusion that citizenship is linked to one national identity, the national identity expressed in national histories and the set of national symbols (flag, national anthem, etc.). National identity was successful in creating the transparent illusion of a civic and ethnic identity, which stands for the emblem of the nation state. To become a citizen of a given nation implies that one has to learn a particular ethnic history as *the* history of the nation. Once again, transnational identities are uncoupling the assumed natural links between citizenship and ethnic belonging and, while are helping to understand and transform the assumed principles in imagining and enforcing the sense of national communities.

I would like to pursue this argument by focusing on transnational social movements (migrations, refugees, and exiles), and intellectual cosmopolitanism:

a. Colonialism and nation building (both in their Western European and neo-colonial versions) shared one fundamental principle; the substantial link between people, language and territory. Thus, the modern idea was that cultures geographically localized were easily converted into an object of study. Orientalism, the emergence of anthropology and more recently of area studies (now being critically examined) functioned under such a principle indirectly revealing the complicity between colonial, national, and epistemic enterprises. After the seventies, however, the massive migration of people from the south to the north and the emergence of transnational social movements that broke away from the ideologically charged nation state, reversed the geo-political and geo-cultural maps. Indigenous transnational movements, for example, are not interested in the national values that

the state attempts to impose on the entire population. Indigenous people, historically marginalized from the civil society in Latin America, are now actively participating in the constitution of a transnational civil society, bypassing the mediation of the nation state and relocating the field of authority in a global civil society, transnational, although with well-defined ethnic loyalties (Varese 1996; Brecher, Brown Childs, and Cutler 1993). The recognition of a transnational indigenous movement articulating local resistance to globalization and creativity toward new forms of democracy, linking local demands for sovereignty with global demands for human and indigenous rights claim – as Varese clearly puts it – produces a change of analytic paradigm and of political praxis. The paradigms we need to change are the paradigm enforced by colonial legacies and modern nation state building and the Enlightenment legacies as a foundation for the modern idea of the citizen as a member of a national (not of a transnational) community. It is necessary, once again, to uncouple the bureaucratic, legal, administrative responsibilities of the citizen from the hegemonic symbolic apparatus of the nation state. In the U.S., for instance, the "will to descent" that David Hollinger explores to account for multiculturalism and criticizes as a viable democratic solution for the future, obscures the fact that his own analysis is also based on a "will to descend" (from the Enlightenment), disguised as a transparent epistemological articulation of his analysis as a national, non-ethnic spirit, in which everyone can find his/her place. In other words, the uncoupling of civil and ethnic identities that migrations and transnational social movements are enacting offers the possibility of rethinking the problem of national multiculturalism from a transnational perspective.

b. Varese's notion of "indigenous nationalism" is useful here. First because Latin American Indians are in the opposite situation of the contingents of immigrants, both in Latin America (particularly the Southern Cone) and in the U.S. where Amerindians and Native Americans have not been transient; they have stayed put and for five hundred years, they have been second class citizens in the best of all possible worlds. They have not moved toward industrialized countries. Industrialization and globalization have moved *to* them, from the early colonial Christian missionaries to the current marketization of the world, with all the implications for non-urban communities witnessing the increasing "exploitation of nature" in the name of modernization and production. In other words, it is no longer the nation state which is being imposed upon them by the new face of a neo-imperial project, "globalization from above." Varese suggests that we look at the national

period, particularly in the 19th century, from a transnational perspective to understand that the marginalization of indigenous communities was not just a national operation, but a national operation in concert with transnational (e.g., imperial) designs. As a matter of fact, early slavery not only brought to the foreground a necessary rearticulation of labor and race, but it had also been obscured as a transnational phenomena in the name and interest of emerging imperial nations (Spain, Portugal), before the rise of secular, modern, nation states at the end of the 18th and 19th centuries. Plantations and mines, two of the major sources of colonial economy, were already forms of transnational capital and labor forces producing new forms of identities and identifications (African communities transplanted to the Americas; Amerindian communities that adapted themselves to a new transnational social order), which were indeed simple forms of a more complex network of a global political economy today. The fact that this view of the colonial period in Latin America has not been examined from a transnational perspective is because both the colonial and national histories have always been written from national perspective. To analyze the colonial and national histories of Latin America from a transnational perspective will mean: a) to understand the marginalization of indigenous communities as a result of the enactment of global designs, and b) to comprehend that Amerindian social movements are currently operating beyond the nation state and taking advantage of the economic and technological possibilities offered by the very process of globalization. Amerindian communities are just one example of "globalization from below," which is redefining the sense of "place" that is no longer the nation. Places (or locations in the double sense of geographical and politico-epistemological) are being articulated both as loci of local knowledge and global political action. "Places (or locations) are precisely where new transnational identities are being articulated, where "globalization from below" is giving the rise to the emergence of new ethnicities and new identities" (Hall 1990). Thus, it is now necessary to rewrite the history of indigenous participation in Latin American history from a transnational perspective. Varese reminds us that among the most important political and revolutionary figures in history of Latin America, we find that Tupac Amaru was a wealthy "entrepreneur" linked to transnational business; Juan Santos Atahualpa was a Quechua from Cuzco, trained in Latin and with international political experience. This transnational aspect of indigenous contributions to Latin America history is often cast out, and outshined by the image of isolated and "authentic" Indian communities, which after all are still an invention of cultural anthropology willingly or not

in complicity with imperial design: the allocation of (non-Western) identities through the changing faces of Western expansion (colonialism, imperialism, neo-imperialism). Indigenous resistance, particularly in the Andes and the Amazones in conflict with transnational corporations (e.g., Ecuatorian Amazonian resistance against 22 transnational oil companies) in complicity and protection of the Ecuatorian State is more and more enacted to turn away from national interests. The defense of local interests is being articulated at the transnational level because of both the transnational corporations invading the territory and the possibility of transnational alliances made possible by the very process of globalization. In other words, new geo-political locations are being redefined at the intersection of local histories and global designs; geo-political locations are produced where globalization from above and from below meets. These new locations (geographical, political, and epistemological) are places where transnational identities are being defined, where colonialist designs for subalternization based on race meet capitalism's designs for the subalternization of the labor market. However, the question of citizenship is still dependent on the state. Would it be possible and thinkable, in Latin America, to imagine a transnational citizenship like that of the European Union? If MERCOSUR and NAFTA are creating the necessary conditions, what will then happen to the old idea of Latin America if Mexicans become citizens of North America?

Let me close this proposal with an invitation to think about cultural hybridity (or hybridity tout court) and citizenship. Which means, first of all, to uncouple hybridity from both the mixtures of genes, blood, race, etc., and from the particularity of an object in which we can recognize, as in surrealist poetry and art, elements of components that we could relate to different cognitive frames or paradigms, whichever terminology you prefer. If we look at hybridity in the context of national identities, ethnic identities and citizenship, and if we could uncouple civil identities (e.g., citizenship) from ethnic or national identities, then hybridity would be located at the level of the latter but not the former: it makes sense to have two or more citizenships (I have two), but it seems to me that it would not make much sense to talk about hybrid citizenship. The legal and bureaucratic system of identification upon which citizenship is materially constructed doesn't allow for hybridity. The problem is that the entire design of nation building ideology successfully constructed a concept of citizenship that was strongly tied to the idea of national identity. And as we all know, it used ethnicity (and of course, language) as a point of contention to let people pass into the sphere of the citizens

who love the national language and culture, and to bar certain people from getting into that well-defined sphere. Now the fact that citizenship was indistinguishable from national identity (and let me insist, it is not clear to me that a mere legal and bureaucratic form of identification shall be necessarily linked to the affect of national symbol), is part and parcel of the current difficulty in dealing with multiculturalism either in the U.S. or Bolivia, even if the two kinds of multiculturalism have a different political, cultural, and economic configuration due to the incongruous local histories and colonial legacies in the U.S. and the Andes.

I will now consider David Hollinger's position on the U.S. multiculturalism (1995, 1996) as a point of reference. Although this is a very different issue, I will risk a summary and a proposal just for the sake of discussion. Hollinger underlines the fact that by the 80's the "most important of the cultures found within the United States were widely understood to be identified by the classic color codes; white, black, red, brown and yellow," which he calls "pentagon." His effort is to disengage "culture" from "identity groups." It is not altogether clear to me what Hollinger understands by "culture," but my guess is that, what he has in mind is "national culture." The question then will be to detach "national cultures" from "ethnic identity." The blind spot (or the trick) is that Hollinger has difficulty in recognizing that national culture is a kind of identity: national identity. Some people would say that national culture is construed. In Hollinger's argument, the phrase is an empty signifier that can accommodate as many ethnic identities as there are under the sun.

Hollinger finds a model for a postethnic society in the natural sciences: "The work of these scholars (Cartwright, Galison, Hecking, Jacob, Fox Keller, etc.) sustains the hope that the knowledge sought by science can still – in this age of historicism – be construed as ideally public, subject to verification by anyone comparably equipped, trained, and positioned" (1995: 113). The parallel between scientific epistemology as a model and citizenship as a practice cannot go unnoticed: both appear as a formidable mechanism for controlling diversity, for homogenizing the population under bureaucratic rules (citizenship) and under epistemic ones (knowledge). This kind of thinking is possible once the ethno-racial pentagon (which is the ethnic classification from the state apparatus) and the ethnic relocation by interested ethnic communities, have been displaced from the center stage and, by doing so, hide the force of colonial legacies that still makes allocation and relocation of ethnic identities a sphere of social conflict and contention. I am not necessarily pushing for a survival of ethnic

identities, and I agree that "the postethnic preference for choice over prescriptions does not carry with it any lack of appreciation for commitments that truly bind ... . Postehnicity reacts not against commitment, but against prescribed affiliations on the basis of descent" (117). The problem is that the will to descend is not only coming from the affirmation of communities which have been allocated in the margins by successive colonialisms, but also hidden under the assumption that affirming post-enlightenment democratic values are not part of "a will to descend:"

> Trying to reason with members of other tribes, trying to get them to recognize common interests, and even trying to convince them that they might be better off by adopting our own (?) ways is an ideal easily dismissed .... Habermans, Jeffrey Stout, and other whose project of building a community through inter-subjective reason would seem aimed exactly at the goal that even Rorty has now acknowledged as his own: the expansion of "our" democratic egalitarian ethnos through immanent critique and the expansion of a "human rights culture" as far as social circumstances will permit it to spread (115).

The will to descent of "ethnic communities" is a subaltern will to descend of a democratic and scientific culture, and it is presented as a "community without ancestors," unattached to an ethnic community. Thus, the manifesto for a postethnic society seems to me a manifesto in defense of the hegemony of western reason, complicity between knowledge and the state, scientific knowledge and the managerial control of civil society. I am not against a postethnic society. I am very suspicious of the model of a postethnic society presented by Hollinger, where national values are being disguised by an appeal to knowledge and a de-ethnicized society. In other words, a model that hides once again the long-lasting and violent legacies of colonialism, out of which it is difficult to understand multiculturalism. It seems to me that a model for a postethnic society should take seriously into consideration the need for a massive critical examination of colonial legacies. Education will have a fundamental role here, if indeed education could contribute to a massive critique of colonialism and the unmasking of the force of colonial legacies in the present. Nevertheless, we are already witnessing new schools in Europe designed for the children of executives of transnational corporations educated in three languages and with no preferences for national histories. Foreign languages and bilingual education, and national identity become in this scenario, archeological expressions of the old national world order.

Finally, to bring together hybridity and transnational identities, I would like to make a final set of observations beyond the national framework in which Hollinger conceives a postethnic society. When I first read Hollinger's book, I thought it was a good critical examination of the current situation in the U.S. I still hold this opinion. However, the problem is that I was reading it as "their problem," that is, an U.S. problem. Suddenly I realized that as an U.S. citizen since 1984, Hollinger was also talking about *my* problem (and of the 27 million "Hispanics," citizens or not!). Why did I fail to react like that from the first moment, the way I may have reacted if I were reading a similar discussion on Argentina or Bolivia? I remember at that time an anecdote told by Diego Duran, in the 16th century: when a Nahuatl informant was asked about his view of the situation in Mexico-Tenochtitaln in recent years, the Nahuatl speaker responded in Spanish, "Estamos nepantla." "Nepantlismo" rather than "hybridity" is the key word that makes sense of the situation I referred to before. I prefer to use nepantlismo when I think about colonial legacies in the Americas, particularly since Chicano/a writers and intellectuals have revived it in the U.S. Nepantlismo is not a mixture, a different version of mestizaje. Nepantlismo is not located in cultural objects, as stated by García-Canclini, but rather in the human situation and in the articulation of a structure of power. The Spaniards were not the ones who "estaban Nepantlas." "Estar nepantla" means to have been and to still be partially something, and having to become something else. That tension between what we are and what we have been and what we have to become is closer to Du Bois "double consciousness" (particularly in the way Gilroy reinterprets it), than to "hybridity" either in Canclini's or Bhabha's way. "Estar nepantla" is a condition of being in subalternity, and being aware that subalternity here means to negotiate the double conciousness between what I had been and what I have to become, although still maintaining (willingly or not) what I had been (a tension that manifests itself in different and particular way in Gloria Anzaldúa, on the one hand, and Richard Rodriguez, on the other). Nepantlismo is not located in discourse, like hybridity in Bajtin and Bhabha, even if in Bhabha the discourse in question is the colonial discourse. Nepantlismo is the kernel of a colonial life/world, the immediate colonial experience of Franz Fanon, and the borderline inscriptions in Gloria Anzaldúa. Briefly, nepantlismo is a way of avoiding the idea of hybridity cultures, where cultures is still conceived as an artifact, an object, and focuses more on the allocation and relocation of identities in the sphere of colonialism and colonial legacies. "Estar nepantla" was not to be in the middle, something in-between, but instead "to be

infront and being in between," and to be in that position in a particular situation: the sphere of Christianity and that of "Aztequidad," to put it somehow. In the 16th century, this was an ethnic and racial problem already articulated between the three religions of the book (Christianity, Judaism, and Islam). Thus, to "be in front and being in between" summarizes my conception of the allocation and relocation of meaning and of the question of transnational (ethnic, cultural) identities: to be "nepantla" is to be aware of being in-between. A particular kind of in-between, an in-between-ness that, for the 16th century, can be described as no longer being what I was or what we were, or as not being yet what we are.

I derive two conclusions from the previous discussion:

1. Nepantlismo is not just a local history; it seems to be the global condition in a transnational world. The experience I call nepantlismo describes neither certain texts nor a certain mode of engagement, but the general activity of living in-between and in front within a subaltern condition. This is why we must consider nepantlismo as neither one kind of experience nor a description of certain valorized texts, but as the general condition of the subjective subaltern experience; in-between something that is being lost and something that is being incorporated, and in front of something that has the sturdy force of hegemonic position. Hegemony and subalternity are being rearticulated in nepantlismo as a complex space of the hegemonic being in conflictive dialogue with the no longer being and the not being yet of subaltern positions. Nepantlismo is the place where local histories and global designs meet; where cultural hybridity and transnational identities can be rethought. However, as far as nepantlismo articulates subaltern perspectives, it becomes not only a political but also a necessary epistemological position to break the complicity between citizenship and scientific epistemology that Hollinger proposes as a viable move towards postethnic societies.

2. In the shaping of the Americas, nepantlismo brings to the foreground the colonial legacies and imperial histories; and also promotes the possibility of thinking comparatively in transnational identities, in which migrations, for example (as well as second and third-generation immigrants in the past thirty years), are creating the conditions to go beyond multiculturalism. This means to surpass nationalism and to understand transnational identities in the context of colonial legacies. Take, for instance, the case of "Latino/a" (and allow me to avoid the discussion of the politics of labeling here). Spanish is no only a foreign language, since "minority language is understood in the context of a national multiculturalism; while 'foreign

language' is understood in a transnational frame." The complexity behind Latino/a in the U.S. is not only that of the diversity within the nation, but of the transnational links in Latino/a America. Nepantlismo complicates the notion of hybrid cultures, at the same time that it rearticulates the relations between hegemony and subalternity at the intersection of local histories and global designs, of the national and transnational, in the conflictive space of hegemonic allocations of being, and the relentless subaltern relocation of no longer being and not being. The final question is whether and how this line of thinking can impinge on education, shaping public opinion, and influencing public policy.

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Gender and Aesthetics?: Two Translations of *La Respuesta*

In 1994 Electra Arenal and Amanda Powell released a critical edition of Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz's famous *La Respuesta*, entitled *The Answer/La Respuesta*. Their proposal was to focus, for the first time, on issues of gender in the nun's famous letter. The result is an unequaled edition of Sor Juana's famous reply that is situated historically and annotated exhaustively, always emphasizing gender issues in Sor Juana's text. The goals of their critical edition are to "do justice" to the letter by appreciating the socio-political context in which Sor Juana produced her celebrated document, while simultaneously maintaining the rich ambiguities of her letter intact. The two editors identify Sor Juana as a feminist before her time, yet warn that championing her as a feminist may result in obscuring her "greatness as an artist." The editors' preface, introduction, and annotations serve to orient the reader towards a feminist interpretation of Sor Juana's text. Therefore, it seems reasonable to ascertain whether Arenal and Powell's translation conveys feminist characteristics already present in the text or whether it projects upon the document a feminist perspective. A male translator, Alan Trueblood, if compared line-by-line to the feminist version, may bring to the foreground the feminist nature of Arenal and Powell's translation. At the same time, in the context of reader-response theory, Trueblood's translation may reveal the true necessity for women-centered translations. Translation theory will be consulted to situate the two translations within a theoretical framework, namely George Steiner's *After Babel*, Fredrich Schleiermacher's essay "On Different Methods of Translation," and Jorge Luis Borges' conception of translation. Finally, in the light of these theoretical considerations, twelve passages will be analyzed in order to identify the feminist nature of the translation to determine if Arenal and Powell successfully achieve their stated goals of focusing on gender, maintaining the text's ambiguities, and not reducing the text's mutliplicities into a fixity.

George Steiner's book, *After Babel*, is certainly a permanent fixture in the realm of translation and translation theory. His first contention postulates that all acts of communication are translations. According to Steiner, to understand is to decipher, thus interpretation is translation and vice-versa. From this position, he is able to muse about how intra-lingual translation comment on the nature of language it-

self. Steiner makes important observations about the constantly evolving flux of language and asks the provocative question - do languages actually entropy? He believes that a text is inherently a prisoner to its historical context and must not be removed from it. When we read, we reconstruct the world the author has created, thus we interpret: "When we read or hear any language statement from the past . . . we translate" (28). Although we may not be conscious of it, we translate in our own language in order to make sense out of the world. This internal interpretation, in fact, guarantees the importance and continued existence of art and literature.

The artistic nature of translations is fundamental for Steiner, even though, paradoxically, man has attempted to define translation in scientific terms. The result in his chapter entitled "Claims of Theory" is that very few "original and significant ideas" exist and those that do can be divided into two general camps- literal and free translation. From these two camps, one can formulate three broad categories, literalism, autonomous restatement, and interpretative parallelism. Literalism connotes a word-by-word matching of the original, autonomous restatement is faithful to the original, while accommodating the text to the translator's tongue in a natural manner, and interpretative parallelism contains the most "wiggle room." Paraphrasing seems to be the accepted middle ground of interpretative parallelism, a balance between a faithful rendition of the original without strictly following it, thus allowing the translator a limited free range. This concept of free range or interlinearity proposes the ideal in translation: a translation that is so good that it takes the place of the original. Here, Nietzche's statement that "to translate is to conquer" is applicable. Translation can be seen as a process of interpretation, appropriation, and re-creation of the source text. Despite the interpretive nature of translations, translators rarely receive recognition for their work, the translators of Bacon, Descartes, Locke, Kant are unidentifiable. Instead, Steiner warns that no theory of translation should be considered scientific: "What we are dealing with is not a science, but an exact art" (311).

The artistic nature of translations complements what Steiner affirms in Walter Benjamin's essay, "The Task of the Translator" as an epistemological drive inherent to the human condition even if man should prove unable to translate certain linguistic creations (*Illuminations* 70). However, not everything is necessarily translatable now, but may be revealed as time passes and one obtains more knowledge: "there are texts which cannot *yet* translate but which may, through linguistic changes, through a refinement of interpretive means, through shifts in receptive sensibility, become translatable in the future" (*After Babel* 262).

Steiner states that there is no definitive moment of understanding, one moment in which the original language and the language of destination are fixed in one place.

Fredrich Schleiermacher's contribution to translation theory "On the Different Methods of Translation" has been considered one of the most important essays on translation. Schleiermacher recognizes the existence of two methods of translation, imitation and periphrastic, but rejects both as insufficient. Paraphrase reflects the content but not the form of the original. At the same time, imitation may duplicate the form, but misses the spirit of the original. The choice between the two methods appears to be equally undesirable. Schleiermacher proposes that the only two reasonable options - either to produce a translation that is reader-friendly or text-friendly: "Either the translator leaves the author in peace, as much as possible, and moves the reader towards him; or he leaves the reader in peace, as much as possible, and moves the author towards him" (9). The two options are mutually exclusive and produce highly disparate results. The reader-friendly option has dominated modern translations, while the text-friendly translation is commonly avoided due to its difficulty to execute and read. The first option presents the text as if the author had written the original in the target language, whereas the second option is an attempt by the translator to convey the essence of the source text while remaining faithful to its foreignness. By proffering a text-friendly translation, Schleiermacher is actually defending an assimilation of the foreignness of a distant culture. A translator should bend his language to reflect the "foreign likeness" of the original and in doing so, the translator positively influences his own language and his own culture:

> Our nation may be destined . . . to carry all the treasures of foreign arts and scholarship, together with its own, in its language, to unite them into a great historical whole . . . whatever beauty the most different times have brought forth can be enjoyed by all people, as purely and perfectly as is possible for a foreigner. (29)

Translation, then, becomes at once a confronting experience that makes one reconsider one's way of thinking and an enriching cultural exchange that teaches and affirms that which one already knows about themselves, i.e. the limits and shapes of our mental world are defined by means of our confrontation with the other. Translation becomes a metaphor for uniting while respecting cultural differences, seeing the world through a different lens, recognizing the other's otherness while engendering an opportunity to better understand one's own culture.

Jorge Luis Borges' theory of translation purports a much less uto-

pian view of translation than Schleiermacher's. Efraín Kristal addresses Borges' approach to translation in his paper entitled, "Borges y la traducción." Kristal asserts that translation is one of the major themes, if not one of the most explicit that runs throughout Borges' work. According to Kristal, Francis W. Newman and Matthew Arnold's famous polemic concerning the translation of Homer's Iliad inspired Borges' approach to translation. Newman supported a literal translation semantically faithful to the original, whereas Arnold assailed him for producing the inevitable cacophony that results from a literal translation. Arnold was convinced that a faithful translation required certain omissions and rewordings to make it more fluid and clear. Kristal points out that Borges did not consider these two approaches mutually exclusive, rather he adopted both, simultaneously. Borges insisted that both methods, literal and periphrastic, created necessary and fascinating results. Literal translations produce new, but unexpectedly fantastic cacophonous results for the document. Periphrastic translation by being so free of the original also brings life to the original that wasn't previously present. This recasting of the original brings a sense of creativity to the "task of the translator." For Borges, all the great metaphors of literature have already been exhausted, i.e. dream/life, dream/death, etc. In fact, in Borges' book of *Imaginary Beings*, he laments mankind's lack of creativity and imagination, suggesting that little is left for the modern writer to accomplish.

This skeptical perspective on literature identifies the great necessity for translation as an outlet for creativity. Borges' theory of translation seemed to favor the periphrastic method - he aggressively rewrote, reworded, and simply removed entire sections of text. Also, he addresses the same issues of the author's intentions, suggesting that the translator has a privileged perspective that can allow him to intuit the author's original intention better than he/she could have. In other words, the translator can and should improve upon the text he/she translates. Borges emphatically asserted that every writer creates his own precursor. He makes this statement in an essay on Kafka, who influenced some of Borges' literary themes. In fact, Borges was the first Latin American writer to translate Kafka's short stories into Spanish. Paradoxically, Borges stated on a variety of occasions that he only possessed two short stories that were Kafkaesque ("The Lottery of Babylon" and "The Library of Babel") but they were, according to him, perhaps his worst stories. We know these short stories to be some of his most brilliant work, so we must ask ourselves why does he so thoroughly downplay Kafka's influence on his writing?

Harold Bloom's *Anxiety of Influence* can begin to explain this phe-

nomenon. Bloom's theory addresses the overwhelming influence a writer feels when confronted with predecessors like Milton and Shakespeare. A strong writer must survive this encounter and misread his precursor's text as a defensive measure that leads one to depose their predecessor. A strong writer is able to break free of the orbit of his predecessor and does it convincingly enough so that the reader attributes certain stylistic qualities of a text to the strong writer instead of the original text. Borges, being a strong writer, intuits Bloom's "anxiety of influence" in his essay entitled, "Kafka y sus precursores." Here, Borges utters one of his most famous lines, a line that perhaps inspired Harold Bloom's formulation of his theory, "El hecho es que cada escritor *crea* a sus precursores. Su labor modifica nuestra concepción del pasado, como ha de modificar el futuro" (*Obras Completas* 712). It becomes clear that, according to Borges, one can appropriate the text of one's predecessor so well that our perception of the past and the future are irreparably modified. Borges' approach to translation is a critical, editorial approach that cannibalizes the original text and recasts it into the light of the translator's perception of the author's original intent.

By imposing one's interpretation of the author's original intent, the strong writer/translator inscribes his/her own intonation on the original, taking significant liberties with the translation. Jean Paris' article, "Translation and Creation" laments that translation is often executed in an exaggerated manner - either it is too literal or too free. Paris affirms that translating a text is not a passive occurrence, but rather an intimate exchange that is more critical than one might think: "a good translator must be a critic, an analyst as well as a linguist and a poet, too" (*Craft and Context in Translation* 62). Paris also states that the translator must maintain the "original spirit" of the text, "it may well happen that the translated poem is better than the original, more revealing, closer to the Ideal" (63). The "Ideal" is an aesthetic perfection, the culmination of a semi-mystical union of translator and text. However, none of this perfection is even obtainable until the translator breaks free of his/her "anxiety of influence." To do so one must misread or critically assess the original text. Smith Palmar Bovie points out in his essay, "Translation as a Form of Criticism" the critical nature of translation: "Criticism reveals itself (1) in the translator's kinship with his author, (2) in the irreversible decision he makes to take possession of his original, and (3) in the techniques used to implement that decision" (50). The translator, in effect, must overcome his "anxiety of influence" and possess the original through a Bloomian misreading that results in a creative assimilation and subsequent appropriation of the original text. It is in this context that we can understand

Borges' famous quip - "the original is unfaithful to the translation."

In reality, Borges performs an anthropophagy of the original text, consuming it and recasting it in his personal intonation. The result of his aggressive editorial forays, i.e. breaking up long-winded sentences, reordering phrases within a sentence, inserting paragraph breaks, and re-titling short stories, is that Borges assimilates his predecessor to such a degree that the reader begins to attribute some of Kafka's original literary achievements to Borges himself. Borges, although only a translator, seems to be more Kafkaesque than Kafka in his Spanish translations of the German's work. Suddenly, Kafka's preoccupation with infinity seems to be a Borgesian concept rather than an appropriation of a Kafkaesque theme. Literary techniques and themes that had previously been overly influential have been completely recast in a light that attributes these themes to Borges and not his predecessor, Kafka.

In the realm of reader-response, feminist scholars claim that their predecessors have not considered them at all in the formulation of their theories. In order to situate properly two translations by individuals of different gender, one must consider how men and women "read" a text, and how that reading affects their translation of a text. A feminist reader-response theory does not assume that all readers approach a document in the same manner. The feminist perspective starts out by simply asserting that men and women "read" in different manners.

Patrocinio P. Schweickart's article, "Reading Ourselves: Toward a Feminist Theory of Reading," maintains that reader-response theory is woefully inadequate in addressing issues of race, class, and sex (*Gender and Reading* 35). In other words, in a patriarchal world, one cannot presuppose that texts are gender-neutral, but rather issues of gender and politics must be addressed: "For feminists, the question of *how* we read is inextricably linked to *what* we read" (40). Schweickart declares that feminist scholarship must confront the literary canon and expose how male-dominated texts oppress women readers, forcing them to conform to male perspectives, or to read as a man would. Schweickart proclaims that the reading experience for men affirms their own identity in a male-dominated world: "For the male reader, the text serves as the meeting ground of the personal and the universal. Whether or not the text approximates the particularities of his own experience, he is invited to validate the equation of maleness with humanity. The male reader feels his affinity with the universal . . . precisely because he is male" (41). This type of male-centered reading experience results is an *immasculation* of women readers that pits women against themselves: "It solicits her complicity in the elevation of male difference into universality and, accordingly, the denigration of female difference

into otherness without reciprocity" (42). In other words, the literary canon reproduces a patriarchal view of reality that helps to reinforce misogyny.

Due to this tendency to force women to read as men, Schweickart issues a call-to-arms to revise the literary canon into a feminist perspective and reject the male oriented perspective of the "canon." However, more interesting, perhaps, is Schweickart's consideration of feminists reading women's writing. Here, she declares that women who read women's texts are getting to know the "voice" of the author, understanding her, embodying the author's message. To read as a woman is to bring the text to life, making the author live in the present and consequently, to "connect" with a community of like-minded women: "feminist readings of female texts are motivated by the need 'to connect,' to recuperate, or to formulate - they come to the same thing - the context, the tradition, that would link women writers to one another, to women readers and critics, and to the larger community of women" (48). Yet, feminist readings must honor the autonomy of the text, respecting it without appropriating its meaning. However, Schweickart also recognizes a tendency towards the subjectivity of a reader and warns, "the reader also has her own premises. To forget these is to run the risk of imposing them surreptitiously on the author" (54). She accepts that reading is subjective and suggests that reading may be a form of interpretation, whose "validity is contingent on the agreement of others" (56). In other words, feminists can create their own interpretations in a community of other women who either confirm or deny certain woman-centered interpretations.

Having appropriately reviewed some of the major theoretical documents on translation and simultaneously taken gender into consideration through reader-response theory, we can approach the two disparate translations of *La Respuesta*. Electra Arenal and Amanda Powell translated this famous document in a critical/feminist edition in 1994, while a male, Alan Trueblood, translated the same document in 1988. The two translations are significantly different and the goal of this paper is to deduce how both translations affect our reading of the text. Trueblood's translation is being used as a point of reference that serves by comparison to identify the feminist qualities of Arenal and Powell's translation. Yet, while serving as a reflection of the feminist critical edition of Sor Juana, the comparison may also expose a male-dominated perspective of the text.

In their preface, the editors of the feminist perspective state their intentions: "The translation that follows is the first English version of the *Respuesta* to focus, as Sor Juana does in the original, on gender. A

major objective is to do justice by means of our introduction, annotations, and the translation itself, to its complexity of thought" (*The Answer/La Respuesta* viii). The editors reflect one of the major tenets of feminism, i.e. that a text cannot be considered as autonomous of the social, historical, and cultural context in which it was produced. Gender, therefore, is an extremely justifiable frame of reference since Sor Juana's gender seriously affected her intellectual production. After all, *La Respuesta* was a response to a male authority, thinly disguised as a woman, attempting to silence Sor Juana for her presumptuousness: "Letters that breed arrogance God does not want in women. But the Apostle does not reject them so long as they do not remove women from a position of obedience. No one could say that study and learning have caused you to exceed your subordinate status" ("Admonishment: The Letter of Sor Philothea de la Cruz," trans. Trueblood). This sentence alone embodies the church's patriarchal position in relation to Sor Juana's attempts at intellectual expression. It appears that gender is very much an issue in *La Respuesta*. Yet, it is not the translation alone that establishes a feminist perspective in Arenal and Powell's critical edition, but rather their historical introduction and their voluminous annotations that orient the reader towards a certain reading of Sor Juana's *La Repuesta*.

Along with the feminist perspective of the editors' introduction and annotations, Arenal and Powell define Sor Juana as a feminist before her time. They state Sor Juana's writing must be considered in the context with other writing women of her era, while also being cognizant of the fact that Sor Juana entered an already present debate concerning women's equality in Letters. More importantly, according to Arenal and Powell, Sor Juana's arguments were intended for other women: "Because she wrote as a woman aware of her gender status and because she intended her arguments to be applied on behalf of other women as *women*, she is certainly a precursor to worldviews and activities we call feminist" (ix). The editors appear convinced that these historical facts justify their feminist reading of *La Respuesta*. However, the preface warns that to champion Sor Juana in our Anglo-American culture may diminish other important aspects of her work. Paradoxically, the editors claim that to misunderstand the context in which Sor Juana wrote and disregard her ambiguities is not to do justice to the text: "To do otherwise mistranslates the author's multiplicities into a fixity" (ix). Yet, is it possible that by fixating on the feminist aspects of *La Respuesta*, one diminishes other aesthetic aspects of the text?

Arenal and Powell begin to create their own feminist aesthetics by contextualizing Sor Juana's life in a historical introduction. This

introduction is extremely important for the twentieth century reader unfamiliar with the seventeenth century. Yet, rather than give an overall historical perspective of Sor Juana's times, the editors immediately focus on the oppression of women: "At every turn, from her courtly and learned yet marginalized standpoint, she contradicted - or deconstructed - artistic, intellectual, and religious views that would refuse her and others like her to express themselves" (1). Although this statement appears to be true, terms like "deconstructed" project a twentieth century viewpoint on Sor Juana, while also serving to immediately frame Sor Juana's life in politically, gendered terms. The editors' introduction is not objective, but rather critically assesses Sor Juana's writing within a feminist perspective:

> Living in a world of real and verbal mirrorings, conscious of the specular role assumed involuntarily by women, Sor Juana crafted poetic mirrors and lenses that continue to reveal the submerged realities of her times. Her work reflects how actively the masculine culture assigned women secondary, invisible, silently reflective roles in society. (15)

Simply put this type of statement orients the reader towards a feminist reading, under the supposition of revealing an inherent truth concerning Sor Juana's reality. According to the editors, the twentieth century reader understands the various level of meanings, while concurrently perceiving the discourse as an "(en)gendered process . . . We have learned, as she did, to cross boundaries and read between the lines" (21). Yet despite this fact, two pages later the editors seem to want to "explain away" any inconsistencies in the feminist theme, particularly in the area of "Religious Epistolary Address." Here the translators excuse Sor Juana's self-deprecating style, known as false humility, as reflecting "conventions of the age, standard modes of address . . . and courtly manners of a highly stratified colonial society" (23). Sor Juana not only uses false humility as a social convention, but also brandishes it as a weapon of irony against Sor Philotela. So, on one hand the editors assert that the modern day reader can discern Sor Juana's feminist characteristics on his/her own, but on the other hand, they choose to properly contextualize her self-deprecating style in order to avoid misunderstandings that could reveal anomalies in a feminist approach to Sor Juana.

In the case of false humility, the editors appear to be heavy-handed in their attempt to situate Sor Juana within a feminist context while ignoring her aesthetic accomplishments. Although the editors' introduction helps illuminate the text, one must ask themselves does it serve to contextualize the entire translation in a feminist light? Finally, by

claiming on the back cover of the book to be the "first accurate" translation, one must consider the degree to which the preface and the introduction serve to mold a certain perspective of Sor Juana that, in effect, limits a whole reading of *La Respuesta.*

If one considers the preface and the introduction as a feminist bookends constructed around this famous text, one may begin to identify the feminist characteristics of this particular translation. And to do so, a male translator, Alan Trueblood, has been chosen to serve as a comparison between a politically charged translation by two women and an apparently politically neutral translation by a man. Reader-response theory will help to determine the effectiveness of Arenal and Powell's stated goal of "doing justice" to the original document, while simultaneously exposing Trueblood's perspective as male-centered and far from being politically neutral. Also, the stated desire to "preserve the meaningful ambiguities" and maintain the document's multiplicity must be addressed. First of all, from a comparison standpoint the two translations on the surface appear completely different. It is absolutely amazing that two translators of an extremely long text, 1440 lines, can almost never agree on the same translation for the same line of text. In fact, a mere five sentences are translated exactly the same. This amazing dissimilarity may point towards a conscious dialogue with other male-centered translations.

This study will limit itself to identifying these dialogues when conceptual differences in one translation deliver a message that is completely distinct from the other translation. Arenal and Powell seem to stick more faithfully to the original syntax and paragraph structure of the original text, whereas Trueblood tends to re-order the long sentences and dissect the original document with paragraph breaks. Arenal and Powell provide the reader with unparalleled annotations, 260 to be exact, which clarify the historical background of the text. At the same time, Trueblood offers the reader only 44 annotations, 1/6th of which points out errors, and/or misquotes committed by Sor Juana. Out of 1400 lines of text, only sixty sentences contain noticeable discrepancies, or 4% of the text, and only twenty-three display major discrepancies, or 2% of the entire text. Of the twenty-three differences that reveal a feminist perspective, six are encountered in the first sixty lines, when Sor Juana expresses her "false humility" towards Sor Philotela de la Cruz. Three are found in the mid-hundreds when Sor Juana first defends herself and her writing from outside attacks with three discrepancies in the 800s where Sor Juana describes her uncontrollable epistemological drive. The rest of the discrepancies occur throughout the text, but they reveal themselves at pivotal moments in

the text where gender and Sor Juana's right to intellectual expression are defended. The twenty-three variances can be divided into three broad categories, (1) a feminist recasting of the original text, (2) a change of emphasis which tends towards a collective rather than an individual conception of the world, (3) omissions of two sentences left out of the translation, both by Arenal and Powell, which may impart the ideological position of the translators. Although the male translation serves as a mirror to reflect the feminist elements of the text, its anomalies reveal as much about the translator's male perspective as they do about the women-centered translation.

The very first line in Arenal and Powell's translation exposes their ideological tendency to recast the original text into a feminist form. In this sentence Sor Juana alludes to her "justo temor" in replying to Sor Philotela. Arenal and Powell translate this sentence as "rightful fear," Trueblood, does so as "legitimate timidity." Both get it right to a certain degree, the feminist translation by focusing on perturbation, alludes to a force outside of Sor Juana imposing a certain fear on her and, consequently, Sor Juana is justified in her reticence. Trueblood correctly intuits an employment of false humility; yet his use of "timidity" suggests that Sor Juana is to blame, a timid person cowers and is dominated by the world around him/her. A major theme in the feminist translation emphasizes forces outside of Sor Juana's that control and oppress her. This kind of translation, surely, is trying to bring to the forefront the patriarchal forces that weighed so heavily on Sor Juana's literary production. The male translation, however, seems to constantly attribute blame to Sor Juana, insinuating a certain weakness on her part.

The next discrepancy exposes this same kind of imposition of a feminist perception of reality. The original phrase addresses Sor Juana's inability to respond to Sor Philotela: "tropezar mi torpe pluma" (Line 3). The feminist perspective translates the phrase as "my dull pen stumbling." "Stumbling" suggests a physical barrier that impedes progress, i.e. an "immasculating" object, to use Schweickart's term. Trueblood translates the sentence as "my bungling pen." Once again, "bungling" connotes a certain inadequacy or idiocy on Sor Juana's part. The agency is reflected on to Sor Juana which contrasts significantly with the feminist translation that identifies a physical, outside barrier that attempts to prohibit women writers. In line 15, Sor Juana expresses her concern that a draft of her writing was published without her consent. The original phrase is: "mis borrones." Arenal and Powell translate it as "drafts and scratches," Trueblood sees it as "poor scribblings." "Drafts and scratches" proffers a work-in-progress that could have been im-

proved if given the opportunity. "Poor scribblings" imputes a certain value judgment on Sor Juana's writing. No doubt, Trueblood is trying to be faithful to the concept of "false humility," but his translation exhibits his own inability to understand the implications of living in a world fraught with sexism.

In line 807, Sor Juana describes a situation in which due to a stomach ailment, she was prohibited to study. However, her curious nature was so vehement that it taxed her health more than studying. Sor Juana comments: "se redujeron a concederme que leyese." The feminist translation, "they were compelled to let me read," indicates that Sor Juana's own personal strength overwhelmed the doctors and forced them into submission. This kind of recasting changes the entire sentence in which Arenal and Powell translate the sentence literally to remove the doctors, who were certainly men, out of the picture and, thus, achieve their submission to Sor Juana. Trueblood's translation indicates the doctors "agreed reluctantly to allow me to read." Here Trueblood translates "se redujeron" not as submission, but the polar opposite, the doctors have the power to agree, against their better judgment, to "allow" her to read.

Another example of a feminist recasting of the original occurs when Sor Juana employs false humility in line 955: "de escribir con ambición codicia." Arenal and Powell rewrite the phrase inserting "jealous aspiration." Trueblood, also, mistranslates it as "driving ambition." The feminist translation attempts to tone down the false humility of the phrase, while the male-centered translation had previously attributed weakness on the part of Sor Juana's writing, now implies that Sor Juana's character is overwhelmingly ambitious. This duplicitous perspective of women seems to reflect Trueblood's inability to approach this text in a way that allows him to sympathize, or as Schweickart would say, 'to connect' with the author. Instead he employs his own patriarchal views of the world, or as Schweickart perceives it, he must do a misreading of the text because in reading a text for women, a man must confront himself.

Finally, Arenal and Powell rewrite yet another example of false humility when Sor Juana states: "Confiesso desde luego mi ruindad y vileza." The feminist translation diminishes the richness of the text when they translate: "I confess straightway my rough and uncouth nature." "Rough and uncouth nature" is a bold re-inscription of meaning on the phrase. Arenal and Powell choose to reinterpret the phrase in a totally different light, shrinking its original meaning. Trueblood, on the other hand, goes for a literal translation that misunderstands the false humility inherent in the phrase and attributes a defiency in

Sor Juana's character: "I readily confess that I am base and vile." This translation seems equally unacceptable since it insinuates a value judgment on Sor Juana as a person and disregards the rich ambiguity of her 'false humility.'

In the second set of feminist recastings of the original text, we encounter a group of translated sentences that are inherently ambiguous and neutral in Spanish, but in English a personal pronoun is added to clarify them. The feminist translations defer directly to Schweickart's essay in which she states that "gynocritics" must develop a sense of community among women by analyzing other women's writing. In the editors' translations, a change of emphasis refocuses the reader's gaze to a collective perspective of reality. In line 31, Sor Juana compares her inability to respond to Sor Philotela's admonishment with Mother Mary's response to John the Baptist: "entorpeció el entendimiento, se le suspendió el discurso." Arenal and Powell maintain the impersonal nature of the phrase by stating: "her powers of mind were dulled and her speech halted." Trueblood translates it as "her mind went blank and words failed her." Here the feminist version seems to remain faithful to the impersonal nature of the phrase and thus maintaining its ambiguites, while the male translation attributes an inability to speak to a weakness on Sor Juana's part.

Arenal and Powell seem to be in constant dialogue with the male translation's tendency to attribute such weaknesses to Sor Juana. In the following two different discrepancies, the feminist translation takes impersonal terms and transports them to reflect a collective female reality. The original emphasizes the important role of the daughters of Zion played in witnessing his crucifixion: "la misma Vida" (Line 663). This phrase in the feminist translation reflects a collective identification of women/nuns with the daughters of Zion: "Our very Life." As a male, this kind of group identification is incomprehensible and Trueblood translates the phrase literally as: "the very Life." The second example of this tendency to transmit a collective identification is found in a passage which is extremely ambiguous in meaning. In line 147 Sor Juana addresses how she could be worthy of analyzing the sacred verses: "¿Cómo me atreviera yo a tomarlo en mis indignas manos, repugnándolo el sexo, la edad, y sobre todo las costumbres?" Arenal and Powell translate the phrase in this manner: "Then how should I dare take up in my unworthy hands when sex, and age, and above all, our customs oppose it." Trueblood translates the same passage as: "Then how should I dare to take this into my unworthy hands, when my sex, age, and especially my way of life oppose it." Both translations seem to indicate a necessity to take an impersonal sentence and

place personal pronouns in the sentence to clarify who is the subject of the sentence. Neither translator choose to maintain the neutrality of the sentence, rather the feminists insert "our customs" and maintain the impersonal nature of the first half of the sentence. Of course, "our" metamorphisizes the meaning from an ambiguous personal to a defined collective. This defined collective is not present in the original and is certainly imposed on the original. Yet, at the same time, the original wording does leave the matter open to interpretation. Meanwhile, Alan Trueblood also projects a male perspective when he translates it as "my sex . . . my way of life." Trueblood attributes a personal responsibility for SJ's actions; it is *her* way of life that opposes writing about the Scriptures. "Way of life" also suggests a conscious choice by Sor Juana to be unworthy. The feminist translation inserts "our customs" which implies something imposed, i.e. the customs, that "we" as women must endure collectively.

This tendency to convey a sense of a collective destiny could be the motivating factor in Arenal and Powell's decision to omit two sentences in their translation. The first appears to be inconsequential, a result of removing a redundancy concerning man's rejection of Christ. The sentences states that men renounced Christ because of His miracles: "Así lo testificaron ellos mismos." Trueblood translates it literally as "so they themselves attest." One must ask why do Arenal and Powell, who stay so faithful to the original throughout, yet suddenly omit an entire sentence? Are Arenal and Powell resisting the collective "ellos" which includes and obfuscates the presence of women? The second example on line 532 seems to be clearer. In this passage Sor Juana laments human nature's tendency to pull down those who are successful and the Athenian law that served to ban those who achieve fame: "parece máximo del impío Maquiavelo: que aborrecer al que se señala porque desluce a otros. Así sucede y así sucedió siempre." The last sentence of the former passage is omitted by Arenal and Powel, and on the surface, it would seem to affirm a feminist perspective which identifies oppressive patriarchal tendencies. Yet, interestingly enough, the omission seems to reflect a desire to revise the text and purge it of any illusions of primacy the text may have in today's world. In other words, one discovers a revisionist feminist perspective that dislikes the presence of "siempre" or always. Removing "always" appears to be a revisionary tactic that states: "those days are over."

Clearly, these two editors have executed an excellent translation of *La Respuesta* and have annotated this document in a manner that will certainly survive for future generations to consult. The question remains, however, have they achieved the very goals they themselves

purport in their preface and shouldn't their translation be judged by their own criteria? Indubitably, Arenal and Powell have accomplished their goal of refocusing this famous essay under a feminist light. When exposed to their introduction, their translation, and their annotations, one cannot help but "read" Sor Juana's reply within a different frame of reference, a frame of reference that emphasizes gender and politics. As Schweickart states in her article, gender and politics are inseparable from a woman's reality, therefore a woman's perspective will effect her reading of a document and her translation of that text. Schweickart states that women as readers attempt to understand the "voice" of the author, and "connect" with the author, thus making the text come alive. According to Schweickart's criterion, Arenal and Powell have successfully brought Sor Juana's feminist voice to the foreground.

Yet, Schweickart herself states that "gynocritics" should approach texts by respecting their autonomy and not appropriating their meaning or imposing a certain ideological perspective on the author. To ignore gender and politics, according to Schweickart, is to run the risk of "incoherence and intellectual dishonesty" (*Gender and Reading* 39). Yet, one can turn this statement around - to fixate on gender and politics, disrespecting the autonomy of the text, and imposing a feminist perspective on a seventeenth century writer, in fact, limits its meaning.

If all translation is interpretation, then why should anyone critique a translation that chooses to focus more on one aspect of a text than another? The answer lies in determining whether this feminist interpretation of Sor Juana's reply is a reader-friendly or a text-friendly translation. A text-friendly translation maintains the ambiguities and foreignness of the source text, while normally depending on many footnotes to explicate difficult passages. Arenal and Powell's translation boasts exhaustive annotations and thus it appears to fit a text-friendly categorization. However, the editors seem to have followed the translation theory of Borges, a process of anthropophagization or appropriation of the text, recasting it in their own feminist intonation. This kind of refocusing of the text is at once respectful of its foreignness because it brings to the foreground issues that help the reader understand the otherness of women, while at the same time it fixates excessively on one element of an extremely rich and varied text.

Such a text, according to Schweickart, can claim that its interpretation is valid only when a community of scholars, in her case, feminist scholars, validate that text. Yet, in an enthusiasm to "give voice" to women writers are feminists writers actually speaking for them? Toril Moi addresses this very paradoxical tendency of American feminists reproducing the very system they assert to be so oppressive:

> Feminists obviously wish to make women speak; but from another viewpoint [this goal] carries some dubious political and aesthetic implications. For one thing it is not an unproblematic project to try to speak *for* the other woman, since this is precisely what the ventriloquism of patriarchy has always done: men have constantly spoken *for* women, or in the name of women. Is it right that woman now should take up precisely that masculine position in relation to other women? (67-8)

Arenal and Powell's enthusiasm to accentuate the feminist aspects of *La Respuesta* restricts the text's multiplicities, undoing that which they intended to maintain, the text's meaningful ambiguities. By making that which was previously ambiguous explicit, the text has been diminished aesthetically. Aesthetics and feminism have had a stormy relationship and Toril Moi has called for a reassessment of this relationship:

> Surely, we should ask ourselves if it is not time to revise a feminist aesthetics that seems in these particular respects to lead to the same patriarchal and authoritarian dead end. In other words, it is time for us to confront the fact that the main problem in Anglo-American feminist criticism lies in the radical contradiction it presents between feminist politics and patriarchal aesthetics. (69)

This is the fundamental question - can feminism avoid its tendencies of overemphasizing politics and genderat the expense of ignoring aesthetics? Indubitably, Arenal and Powell have recast *La Respuesta* into a feminist form, thus enriching the scholarship on Sor Juana; however, the problem is the mold can be considered extremely myopic and restrictive. Now, the emphasis has changes from an aesthetic, nongendered perspective to an excessively political and gender sensitive viewpoint.

However, Alan Trueblood's translation of *La Respuesta* is a shinning example of the need for feminist perspectives of Sor Juana's work. On the surface, Trueblood's translation appears to be politically neutral; yet, his translation consistently attributes blame to Sor Juana as incapable of writing, while simultaneously ascribing deceitful characteristics to her person. His translation is not historically contextualized; in fact his few annotations exemplify a tendency to "find" errors. At least Arenal and Powell have contributed to the scholarship of Sor Juana's work with their exhaustive historical annotations and their emphasis of the feminist elements of Sor Juana's text. Trueblood, on the other hand, not only frequently misunderstands the text, execut-

ing a poor translation; he also imposes on the modern reader a male-centered perspective of Sor Juana's world that completely misses the feminist aspects of the source text. In fact, Trueblood's translation does not contribute to the understanding of Sor Juana's timeless text, but rather hinders its comprehension. He not only hinders its comprehension, by ignoring the feminist nuances in the text, he, also, boldly reinscribes meaning on the text by leaving out this important aspect of the text.

Although Arenal and Powell clearly ascribe new meaning to Sor Juana's text by overemphasizing the political and gender characteristics in her work, one must recognize the invaluable contribution they have made by contextualizing the socio-political environment in which Sor Juana produced her famous *Respuesta*. Neither the male nor the women-centered translation appear to be satisfactory, one reproduces an oppressive male perspective and the other produces a limited, fixated perspective on one aspect of a richly multiple text. Yet one must remember that feminist reader-response theory believes that one day politics and gender won't be issues on the forefront of feminist criticism. Meanwhile, Toril Moi petitions for a revision of Anglo-American feminism that downgrades the importance of aesthetics. Clearly, the time has come for a generation of scholars to weigh equally aesthetics and gender issues. Arenal and Powell may have overstressed the feminist aspects of Sor Juana's renowned *Respuesta*, but in doing so they have enriched our understanding of the text. Feminism and aesthetics need not be mutually exclusive and their fusion will only serve to ameliorate the scholarship of great writers like Sor Juana.

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Woman Scorned: The Silenced Woman of the Latin American Avant-Garde

The avant-garde movements in Western literature of the early twentieth century, both in Europe and the Americas, mark a period of sweeping ideological and formal transformation. This is particularly true of the New World, where the desire for literary innovation was coupled with a powerful new socio-political consciousness. In "La identidad cultural de la vanguardia en Latinoamérica" Magdalena García-Pinto characterizes this consciousness as "cuando comienzan los pueblos que constituyen el todo latinoamericano a tomar consciencia de quiénes son, de las posiblidades que pueden explorarse como pueblos independientes de los poderes coloniales dominantes" (109). The dynamic of breaking away and beginning anew characterizes the Latin American avant-garde. Politically, during this period colonies recently independent from Spain struggled to engender their own national identities and systems. In a similar effort, a new generation of writers rejected bourgeois social values and the Academy sanctioned models of its predecessors, and launched a period of radical experimentation, stridently proclaiming its intention to violate all existing codes in order to raise its own voice, to develop its own literary aesthetic and social code. In an atmosphere electric with possibilities, young Latin American poets eager for change used literary manifestos as a medium for forging their visions of this new reality. They began the development of what García-Pinto describes as "otra consciencia . . . otra factualidad más en consonancia con los proyectos de la nueva imaginación creadora: hay que inventar un nuevo hombre, una nueva mujer, un arte nuevo, una sociedad nueva" (109). It is in the rhetoric of these manifestos that they not only reject the existing literary aesthetic, but also challenge the moral and social codes of previous generations. The writings of many principal male figures of the avant-garde in the Americas present startling new notions of beauty, poetry, and social conduct. However, the images the texts contain of the new woman are ambiguous. Some of these manifestos express a decidedly misogynistic attitude, using femaleness and images of women as pejoratives to condemn and dismiss the values of previous generations, and especially those of the bourgeoisie. Others, notably several foundational texts of Brazilian *Modernismo*, contain depictions of women as active participants in the new society they envision. These generally make

the rejection of the parnassian idealization of the "woman-object" a focal point of their rhetoric. However the new woman they propose can also be read as a recasting in avant-garde terms of what remains an essentially passive, supporting role for women. These portrayals of woman raise the question of the extent to which the "sociedad nueva" proposed by the young men of the Latin American avant-garde was at its core exclusively masculine. An examination of the images of women and the rhetorical use of the female in several of these manifestos in light of the circumstances of two Brazilian women poets of the early twentieth century suggests much regarding this question. It casts doubt on the degree to which the actual woman of the period was supported in her attempt to break out of her traditional role and raise a voice that was truly her own.

Some of the patterns characterizing the rhetorical treatment of the woman in the manifestos of the Latin American avant-garde can be traced to the texts that began the line of avant-garde manifestos: the writings of the Italian Francisco Tomasso Marinetti. In his 1909 "Manifeste du futurisme," generally viewed as the first manifesto of the European avant-garde, Marinetti polarizes his vision of the new world into a good-versus-evil conflict. He casts as positive—new, fast, technological, violent—masculine images: young men in speeding cars, a phallic locomotive penetrating the night, war.

> 9. Nous voulons glorifier la guerre, —seule hygiène du monde — le militarisme, le patriotisme, le geste destructeur des anarchistes, les belles Idées qui tuent, et *le méprise de la femme.*
> 10. Nous voulons démolir les musées, les bibliothèques, combattre le moralisme, *le féminisme et toutes les lâchetés opportunistes et utilitaires.* (emphasis mine)

The above passage unmistakably connects the female to that which Futurism scorns and rejects. It also reveals that integral to the exaltation of Marinetti's masculine images is the denigration and violent destruction of the female.

An echo of Marinetti's attitude resounds in the first manifesto of Mexican *Estridentismo*, "Actual N° 1: Hoja de vanguardia. Comprimido estridentista de Manuel Maples Arce," a broadside released by Maples Arce in Puebla, Mexico in December of 1921. Maples Arce's text makes use of the same vocabulary of speed, technology, and violence typical of Marinetti's manifestos, as well as making several direct references to the Italian's ideas.

In "Actual No 1" the only references to women portray them as appendages of the bourgeois establishment, whose values and aesthetic the manifesto categorically rejects. The text declares:

> Cuánta mayor, y más honda emoción he logrado vivir en un recorte de periódico arbitrario y sugerente, que en todos esos organillerismos pseudo-líricos y bombones melódicos, para *recitales de changarro gratis a las señoritas,* declamatoriamente inferidos ante *el auditorio disyuntivo de niñas fox-troteantes y espasmódicas* y burgueses temerosos *por sus concubinas y sus cajas de caudales.* (73, emphasis mine)

The language of this passage offers two images of woman. The first is the "señoritas" and "niñas fox-troteantes." These women, no more than silly children, are portrayed as the ardent consumers of an inferior aesthetic described as "organillerismos pseudo-líricos y bombones melódicos." The characterization of these women as "espasmódicas" and forming an "auditorio disyuntivo" conveys their lack of ability to focus and suggests that they are flighty and less than mature adults. The second group is the "concubinas." The structure of the phrase "temerosos por sus concubinas y sus cajas de caudales" equates the concubines and the safes, transforming the former into no more than objects, just another possession of the inferior bourgeois male.

The manifesto continues in a similar vein as it uses a favorite avant-garde image, the streetcar, to distinguish the insipid bourgeois's lack of artistic perception from the superior insights of the *estridentistas*:

> Al fin, los tranvías, han sido redimidos del dicterio de prosaicos, en que prestigiosamente los había valorizados *la burguesía ventruda de hijas casaderas.* (73, emphasis mine)

The existence of "hijas casaderas" appears in this passage as a pejorative used to insult and demean the bourgeoisie. Its tone dismisses the daughters as a worthless burden whose only purpose in life is to marry. These and other references in the manifesto belittle women, dismissing them as frivolous, empty-headed, and generally useless. This characterization of women condemns the whole class, the bourgeoisie, with which the text associates them.

The manifesto's approach toward women becomes even more derogatory later in the text when it metaphorically compares the products of the literary aesthetic that the *estridentistas* oppose to the matter expelled during a woman's menstrual period:

> Exito a todos los poetas, pintores y escultores jóvenes de México . . . a todos los que no han ido a lamer los platos en los festines culinarios de Enrique Gonzáles Martínez, para hacer arte (!) *con el estilicidio de sus menstruaciones literarias.* (77, emphasis mine)

Once again, the text employs a distinctly female metaphor to degrade the tradition it rejects and seeks to replace.

The manifesto's images and rhetoric thus tend to marginalize women from any positive connotation in the language of *Estridentismo*, conveying the message that femaleness is, at best, superficial and, at worst, utterly deserving of contempt and disgust. The absence of positive female images in the text subtly but distinctly reinforces this message.

The editorial-manifesto "Inicial" from the Argentine review *Inicial: revista de al nueva generación*, written for the publication's first issue (Buenos Aires, October 1923) and signed by Roberto A. Ortelli, Brandán Carrafa, Roberto Smith, and Homero M. Guglielmini, also uses the association with femaleness to express contempt for their predecessors. The editors of *Inicial*, like the *estridentistas*, associate female images with the rejected literary aesthetic of the previous generation. As part of a long litany of "contras," they oppose that aesthetic to their own call "a todo lo que hay de valiente, decidido y sano en las filas de la nueva generación" (4). They declare themselves "contra los *afeminados* de espíritu, que ponen en verso el gemido de las *damiselas* y hacen ensueños sobre la ciudad futura," and "contra todo lo que hay, en arte, en política de engaño, *de impotencia y de feminidad*" (emphasis mine). The equation drawn in this last phrase reveals the motivation behind "Inicial's" anti-female stance. These young writers, seeking both literary and political power, use "feminine" as equivalent to "weak" and "impotent." In her study *Lenguaje e ideología: las escuelas argentinas de vanguardia*, Francine Masiello notes the strong identification of "masculine" with the power structures, literary and political, that the "nueva generación" seeks to control. "Inicial's" language becomes a place "donde se convierte al escritor en un ejemplo de integridad viril," and Masiello concludes that "ahora el escritor de vanguardia pide el discurso masculino para sí mismo" (76). The polarization of male-female into good-powerful versus weak-despicable continues the avant-garde tradition begun with Marinetti, wherein the marginalization of the woman and the silencing of her voice become a tool for elevating and empowering a new generation of young males.[1]

The manifestos of the principal Brazilian *modernistas* differ in tone from both "Actual No 1" and "Inicial" and tend to create a rhetorical place for a new woman. Absent from their language is the direct male-good versus female-evil comparison. This tendency probably reflects the critical role female artists played in the Brazilian avant-garde. For example, the forces that were later to produce the 1922 *Semana de Arte Moderna*, the event marking the birth of the Brazilian avant-garde, gathered around painter Anita Malfatti's controversial exhibition of modern art in 1917. The rhetoric of these texts does, however, give reason

to suspect that the male authors do not necessarily envision women enjoying the same radical liberation from social restriction that they seek for themselves.

In 1921, Menotti del Picchia published an early document of Brazilian *Modernismo*, "Na Maré das Reformas," in the *Correio Paulistano*. Like his Spanish American counterparts, Menotti focuses on the image of the woman to embody the charge of superficiality he levels at the parnassian poetry of the previous literary generation: "Na poesia, *Ela*, que tem mãozinhas para teclados, olheiras de monja, vestidinhos outonais, lábios assim, gestos assado, é revogada por um decreto da estética nova" (189). In this article, Menotti does not present a contrasting image of the new woman, but in "Arte Moderna," the conference he presented on February 15, 1922, the second night of the *Semana de Arte Moderna*, he describes in detail an "Eva ativa," a pivotal figure in his contrast of the *modernista* aesthetic with that of the parnassians.

First, Menotti makes clear the *modernista* preference for real, modern women: "Às princesas de baladas dos castelos roqueiros, preferimos a datilógrafa garota. Não queremos fantasmas! Estamos num tempo de realidades e violências" (288). Later in the text, the poet elaborates on this point:

> E a mulher? Fora a mulher-fetiche, a mulher-cocaína, a mulher monomania, *l'eternelle Madame*!
> Queremos uma Eva ativa, bela, prática, útil no lar e na rua, dançando o tango e datilografando uma conta corrente; aplaudindo uma noitada futurista e vaiando os tremelicantes e ridículos poetaços de frases inçadas de termos raros como o porco-espinho de cerdas.
> Morra a mulher tuberculosa lírica! No acampamento da nossa civilização pragmatista, a mulher é colaboradora inteligente e solerte da batalha diuturna, e voa no aeroplano, que reafirma a vitória brasileira de Santos Dumont, e cria o mecânico de amanhã, que descobrirá o aparelho destinado à conquista dos astros! (288)

The adjectives used in these passages surround the *modernista* conception of its "Eva" with an air of vitality and assertiveness very different from her parnassian counterpart. She is "ativa," "na rua, dançando o tango," and "colaboradora inteligente e solerte." More ambiguous, however, are the activities that the *modernista* male sees as demanding her intelligence and vitality. She is "útil no lar," but also can be seen "datilografando uma conta corrente," "aplaudindo uma noitada futurista," and she "cria o mecânico de amanhã, que descobrirá o aparelho destinado à conquista dos astros!" In one reading, this con-

struction of the new woman describes a public, working woman, no longer a fragile "princesa" hidden in the recesses of the home. On the other hand, the actions presented as comprising the new female role can be interpreted as rather servile. The woman serves "usefully" in the home and in business. She reacts to the "noitada futurista" by applauding and booing, but doesn't appear to be a presenter in the spectacle. Her airplane flight reaffirms a male victory, and she raises "o mecânico de amanhã," preparing the way for his glory, but apparently not striving to conquer the stars herself. Thus, even her more active role remains substantially passive. The new woman this text describes has exchanged the parnassian piano keys for the *modernista* typewriter keys, but her role essentially follows and supports a male lead. Although the *modernista* manifestos call for radical change, they remain curiously superficial with regard to the particular restrictions the traditional social structure placed on women.

A consideration of the reception of the work of two female Brazilian poets during the early decades of this century suggests that this prevalent depiction of the woman in the manifestos of the Latin American avant-garde goes beyond the merely rhetorical. The topic of Brazilian women poets of the early twentieth century immediately evokes the name of Cecília Meireles, one of the most revered figures in contemporary Brazilian letters. However, despite the stature and importance of her work, Meireles cannot be said to have asserted a particularly female voice in her poetry. In a brief article entitled "Poesia da mulher no Brazil," Brazilian poet and critic Astrid Cabral notes that "a precedência da ordem estética sobre a natural mostra que para Cecília a distinção de gênero era irrevelante. Ela . . . se colocava antes como pessoa do que como mulher, mais atenta para a problemática do ser em geral." Thus, in her work Meireles did not directly challenge the traditional female role. In contrast, in the work of Gilka Machado, a poet who immediately preceded Meireles chronologically, the question of the female condition and the development of a distinctly female poetic voice are critical.

An acute consciousness of the social and intellectual limitations restricting women appears as a recurrent theme from Machado's first book, *Cristais Partidos* (1915). In the poem "Ânsia de Azul," the poet declares:

De que vale viver
trazendo, assim, emparedado o ser?
pensar e, de contínuo, agrilhoar as idéias,
dos preceitos sociais nas tropes ferropéias;
ter ímpetos de voar,

porém permanecer no ergástulo do lar
sem a libertação que o organismo requer;
ficar na inércia atroz que o ideal tolhe e quebranta...
. . . . . .
Ai! antes pedra ser, inseto, verme ou planta,
do que existir trazendo a forma de mulher. (7)

The poet here alludes to the freedom she desires using the metaphor of flight, reminiscent of the flight of Menotti's "Eva ativa." However, rather than seeking to be "útil no lar," she describes this traditional female space as an "ergástulo" that cruelly imprisons her spirit. For Machado, even the lowest, free-living thing enjoys a better fate than a woman. This yearning for spiritual and intellectual freedom voiced in "Ânsia de Azul" shares much in common with the call for aesthetic and social freedom sounded by the young male authors of many manifestos of the Latin American avant-garde.

Machado further explores the theme of freedom in relation to the female spirit, particularly female sexuality, imprisoned and repressed by societal norms, in the sonnet "Ser Mulher," also included in *Cristais Partidos*. Here Machado develops the idea of the frustration provoked by the conflict between woman's true nature and the limitations society imposes on her. The poem begins by describing the purpose towards which woman is born to strive.

Ser mulher, vir à luz trazendo a alma talhada
para os gozos da vida, a liberdade e o amor;
tentar de glória a etérea e altívola escalada,
na eterna aspiração de um sonho superior; (7)

Later, the sonnet repeats the theme of the imprisonment and subjugation of woman found in "Ânsia do Azul." In this stanza of the poem, the woman's soaring beginning is crushed by the man whom she sought out to be her companion in her life's journey.

Ser mulher, desejar outra alma pura e alada
para poder, com ela, o infinito transpor;
sentir a vida triste, insípida, isolada,
buscar um companheiro e encontrar um Senhor . . . (7)

This betrayal contributes to the overall feeling of frustration the sonnet conveys, that being a woman means "ficar na vida qual uma águia inerte, presa/nos pesados grilhões dos preceitos sociais" (7). Society's restriction of the woman, enforced by the "Senhor," prevents her from striving for the heights for which she, like the eagle, was destined.

Despite this early recognition of the probable futility of her effort, in other poems Machado takes up a struggle that mirrors the call of the avant-garde manifestos to challenge and break with the existing

social code. She lyrically and erotically expresses her female sexuality. In creating daring images for a woman in the early decades of this century, she raised a truly new, authentically female voice.

The year of the *Semana*, Machado published *Mulher Nua*, a collection which includes the sonnet "Eu sinto que nasci para o pecado." The poem presents the poet's dangerous balance between authentic self-expression and social acceptability.

> Eu sinto que nasci para o pecado,
> se é pecado, na Terra, amar o Amor;
> . . . . . .
> Filha de um louco amor desventurado,
> trago nas veias lírico fervor,
> e, se meus dias à abstinência hei dado,
> amei como ninguém pode supor.
> Fiz do silêncio meu constante brado,
> e ao que quero costumo sempre opôr
> o que devo, no rumo que hei traçado. (151)

Machado's poetry became her venue for the expression of sexual feelings that she, as a woman, wasn't supposed to have. Meanwhile, she carefully lead a chaste life, dedicating her days to abstinence.

Machado's balancing act failed, however, and as a young widow with two children, Machado suffered severe consequences for having dared to raise her own, radically female voice, a voice that did not conform to that expected of a "poetisa." Although in 1933 she won the title "a maior poetisa do Brasil" in a contest sponsored by the review *O Malho*, in later years her work did not receive continued recognition. In his preface to her *Poesias Completas*, Fernando Py explains:

> Marcada pelo escândalo de su ousadia, sofreu a incompreensão daqueles que só liam retorcidamente os seus versos, julgando-a devassa ou libertina quando quisera apenas reformular umas quantas idéias aceitas sem discussão pela maioria, e explorar, dentro dos limites de sua poesia, as sensações ligadas à sensualidade e ao erotismo, em que aliás foi pioneira. Esse pioneirismo, contudo, foi-lhe bastante funesto. Seu nome desapareceu dos manuais da história literária, ou, quando mencionado, o vem de maneira "condescente," perfuntória, em duas ou três linhas inexpressivas, quase sempre atado à cauda dos "grandes." (XXI-XXII)

Given the rhetoric of the avant-garde manifestos, especially those of the Brazilian *modernistas*, it seems that Machado's poetry and literary "pioneirismo" would have been embraced and supported in its challenge of the bourgeois status quo. However, none of the young lions

of *Modernismo* apparently saw Machado's struggle as connected their own.

The case of Gilka Machado raises the question of the existence of other unknown, or barely known, Latin American women writers of the early twentieth century whose work might contain the voices of truly new women for the new century. The young male writers of the avant-garde in Brazil and elsewhere in Latin America focused tremendous energy and creativity on their own struggle to break free from what for them was an oppressive tradition, and assert themselves as new men with new visions for a new reality. Ironically, it seems they were unable or unwilling to understand and support their sisters' parallel and even more arduous struggle. Despite the presence and collaboration of some women in the literary movements that swept the Americas during the 1920s, the avant-garde spoke with a male voice. This voice appears to share with the tradition from which it so vehemently sought to separate itself a fundamental scorn for a female role as anything other than woman-object, woman-helpmate. As was the case for its fathers and grandfathers, it was as if the assertion of this new male voice were dependent on the marginalization and silencing of the female voice.

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NOTES

[1] For a study of these questions in the context of the French avant-garde, see Susan Rubin Suleiman's *Subversive Intent: Gender, Politics, and the Avant-Garde.*

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Lorca's "Horror a lo anecdotico": Enigma as Narrative In Two Gypsy Ballads ("La monja gitana" and "Muerto de amor")

In his letters to his friends Lorca let his guard down, making confessions that would be unthinkable in a public performance of a lecture or recital. While we eagerly latch onto contradictions, recognizing in them areas of contention within his mind, we pay less attention to confirmations and endorsements. Yet one vehement statement he made in 1927 in a letter to Sebastián Gasch—"Tengo horror a lo anecdótico" ("Lorca inédito") —did no more than explain what was only implicit in 1926 in his recital of *Romancero gitano* when he chose not to read "La casada infiel," dismissing it a "pura anécdota andaluza" (Lorca, *Obras* I 1117). His use of the word was clearly ambivalent: in the same recital he declared that in "Romance sonámbulo," "hay una gran sensación de anécdota, un agudo ambiente dramático y nadie sabe lo que pasa ni aún yo, porque el misterio poético es también misterio para el poeta que lo comunica, pero que muchas veces lo ignora" (Lorca, *Obras* I 1115). Questions immediately arise: Why did Lorca write an "anécdota andaluza" in poetry when he abhorred anecdote? Did his abhorrence precede the writing of *Romancero gitano*, coincide with the writing of *Romancero gitano*, or derive from the writing of *Romancero gitano*? Why did he choose to compose in the rich ballad tradition when the weight of that tradition is overwhelmingly narrative? If, as he declared, he discovered at the start of his poetic career that the *romance* form was an ideal mold for his "sensibilidad" (Lorca, *Obras* I 1115), what role can narrative play in evoking sensibility?

Romancero gitano does, of course, contain unequivocally narrative poems, with a linear development and carefully modulated phases, stages, and tempos. Four in particular derive from, and may even comment on, the melodramatic tradition of the nineteenth-century *romances de cordel* with their flamboyant characters, bloody actions, and transparent morality; these are "La casada infiel," "Romance de la Guardia civil española," and the two poems that compose the only sequence in the work, the two dealing with the arrest and death of Antoñito el Camborio. There is no reason to believe that Lorca did not enjoy writing "La casada infiel" and recreating in it two common nineteenth-century types: the boastful, virile male and the beautiful, faithless wife; and that he wrote it for the very reason that he decided not to recite it: that it was a "pura anécdota andaluza." In that case, his instinct ap-

peared to prepare him for the reactions of Salvador Dalí and Luis Buñuel in by now familiar letters written in September 1928. "Lo peor," wrote Dalí bluntly in his macaronic Castilian, "me parece lo de aquel senyor que *se la llevó al río*. La *gracia* producto de un estado de espíritu vasado en la apreciación deformada sentimentalmente por el *anacronismo*." And Dalí illustrated his censure of anachronism and redoubled his attack on that man who carried her off to the river by recaptioning a *capricho* by Goya with a line from "La casada infiel" (Sánchez Vidal 177, 179).

Buñuel was even more trenchant in a letter to José Bello, alleging a fundamental error that undermines the whole conception and execution of the work:

> Hay dramatismo para los que gustan de esa clase de dramatismo flamenco; hay alma de romance clásico para los que gustan de continuar por los siglos de los siglos los romances clásicos; incluso hay imágenes magníficas y novísimas, pero muy raras y mezcladas con un *argumento* que a mí se me hace insoportable y que es el que ha llenado de menstruaciones las camas españolas. (Sánchez Vidal 180)

In underlining "argumento," Buñuel uses a word that has to remind us of Lorca's professed antipathy to anecdote. What Buñuel and Dalí censured is remarkably similar: anachronism, "dramatismo flamenco," "alma de romance clásico," "argumento;" these are the features, transparent and unequivocal, that are most exposed to view. The other features, enigmatic, oblique, and ambiguous, are ones that they never detected, and their myopia offers a distorted view of the work and misrepresents Lorca's intentions.

The most intriguing statement of his intentions is contained in a letter he wrote to Melchor Fernández Almagro, probably in the spring of 1921:

> Quiero hacer este verano una obra serena y quieta; pienso construir varios romances con lagunas, romances con montañas, romances con estrellas; una obra misteriosa y clara, que sea como una flor (arbitraria y perfecta como una flor): ¡toda perfume! Quiero sacar de la sombra a algunas niñas árabes que jugaran por estos pueblos y perder en mis bosquecillos líricos a las figuras ideales de los romancillos anónimos. Figúrate un romance que en vez de lagunas tenga *cielos*. (Lorca, *Epistolario* I 31).

Here paradoxes and antitheses are the surface markers of complex intentions: while "misteriosa y clara" and "arbitraria y perfecta" point to the desired result, "construir con lagunas," "sacar de la sombra," and "perder" (presumably "en la sombra") specify activities that liken po-

etry to the creation of a chiaroscuro in which what is left out is as significant as what is put in. "Construir con lagunas" in particular denotes a complex interplay of positive and negative, one feature of a consistent process of fusion that energizes both the conception and procreation of *Romancero gitano*. While his insistence in his recital that he wanted to blend "el romance narrativo con el lírico sin que perdieran ninguna calidad" (Lorca, *Obras* I 1115) appears to illuminate his intention, we are left with the problem of assessing the resultant blends in which the proportions of narrative and lyrical always vary. Other challenges are posed by the proportions of familiar and unfamiliar, explicit and enigmatic, transparent echoes of *romances* and *cantos populares* and obscure images and passages. If the problem for Lorca the poet was the denial of expectation, the problem for us as readers is the frustration of expectations that makes us realize that his *romances* are like and unlike, that he writes within the formal constraints of the *romance* form at the same time that he strains against the conventions that give it stylistic and thematic coherence.

The Oxford Book of Narrative Verse contains a preface by Iona and Peter Opie, who state suggestively that "A narrative poem is in the nature of a sea voyage, and it is no good poking about in the rock pools waiting for the sea anemones to unfold their fronds" (ix). We could say that are there are few rock pools to explore in such hardy favorites as "Paul Revere's Ride" and "The Highwayman," while in *Romancero gitano* such poems as "Romance sonámbulo," "Burla de don Pedro a caballo," "San Rafael (Córdoba)," "La monja gitana," and "Muerto de amor" are all rock pools and no voyage. Anyone who has been to exhibitions of twentieth-century art, particulary of abstract or Surrealist art, will realize just how strong is the need for meaning and explanation expressed in the oft repeated question "But what does it mean?", which just as often elicits from well-intentioned docents the bland explanation "The painter is making a statement." René Magritte would deny this, insisting over and over again that his paintings have no meaning, no symbolic coding, no moral dimension, underscoring the role of what he provocatively termed "la logique du mystère," and contending—in words that parallel Lorca's comment about "Romance sonámbulo," that "Le mystère n'est pas une des possibilités du réel. Le mystère est ce qui est nécessaire absolument pour qu'il y ait du reel" (Magritte 474, 525). Samuel Beckett would concur: he deflected the query of the actor Stephen Rea about a line from *Endgame* with what is essentially a credo of multiple, fluid meanings: "Stephen, it is always ambiguous" (Pacheco). However, this emphasis on mystery should not inhibit us from trying to explain to ourselves lines of Beckett

or lines from the *Romancero gitano* that elude a simple, fixed meaning.

Lorca showed how allusiveness and elusiveness overlap in the opening lines of the very familiar "Preciosa y el aire," which present the innocent young heroine moving "por un anfibio sendero / de cristales y laureles." While it is easy to see that water—the metaphoric "cristales" of gongorine pedigree—and vegetation make the path amphibious, it is less easy to determine where the path is: Málaga, ventures one critic (Havard 3); "along the mountain-side, at the mid point between sea and sierra peaks," declares another (Ramsden 11, n. 4); or on the ambiguous path of life itself, I suggest, with its tears and triumphs. We want to situate the poem, for to locate it is somehow to possess it, in the same way as we want to order, as if they were pieces in a puzzle, or building blocks, the four neatly bordered compartments of Magritte's painting *L'Idée fixe* (1925).

In this denial of schematic connection, Lorca joins hands with Beckett, Eliot, Magritte and many others in a vehicle as improbable as the Spanish *romance*. If we accept that Lorca, in the words he used of Góngora, "elige ... su narración y se cubre de metáforas" (Lorca, *Obras* I 1051), we then have to wonder whether images can replace action, whether images can be self-supporting, and whether the responses that they elicit in us can be a substitute for actions that we expect to read in the poem. Lorca appears to encourage this possibility when he contended that Góngora's images have a "forma y radio de acción," a "núcleo central" with a "redonda perspectiva" (Lorca, *Obras* I 1038). If an image, rather than an event or circumstance, has a "forma y radio de acción," clearly he is offering us a new kind of narrative, one that demands a discerning reader to interpret it. Firstly, we have to digest the difficult fact that a ballad—of all genres—may recount nothing at all, that it may appear to tell a story in the same way as an impromptu by Chopin appears to be improvised: both are illusions. This is especially true of the two *romances* that I want to consider: "La monja gitana" and, in more detail, "Muerto de amor."

Lorca's drawing of his gypsy nun documents the sedentary pose of his subject, who is sewing at the beginning of the poem and sewing at the end. The poem is static if we look for physical action, yet in mental terms it is extraordinarily vital, vibrant with tensions which are contained in the title, in the first line —"Silencio de cal y mirto"— , and in two types of flowers. There are two sources of energy in the poem (or "radios de acción," to borrow his phrase): one is the sun, the other is the nun's mind. Light activates the wonderful image of seven birds of the prism flying (but trapped) in line 6, of twenty suns above her head (in line 30), of the game of chess on the grille of her cell win-

dow (in the last lines). The sun has a natural—and semantic—relationship with the sunflowers, the *girasoles*, which are one actor in the colorful parade of flowers flashing through her mind. And here Lorca poses a challenge: how many of us can immediately bring to mind the flowers and herbs he names as part of the context or as elements in the nun's fantasising? Sunflowers present no problem, but what of the malvas, magnolia, azafrán, llagas de Cristo, and yerbaluisa? How many of his readers are aware that llagas de Cristo can be nasturtiums? And why would he place these "cinco llagas de Cristo / cortadas en Almería" in apparent apposition to five grapefruit sweetening in the nearby kitchen? Why five? Not to accept the challenge posed by these questions is to read the poem with one eye closed. Five, of course, points us toward the five senses, and the grapefruit sweetening are a defiant recognition of their power and an unrepentant cementing on Lorca's part of an historic association between grapefruit and nuns. Juan Ruiz's stern but picturesque stricture in the Libro de buen amor "Rreligiosa non casta es podrida toronja" (Ruiz II 207) did not inhibit the anonymous poets who sang:

> Aquí vienen las monxas,
> cargadas de toronxas,
> no pueden pasar
> por el río de la mar. (Frenk no. 212B)

Nor did it prevent its healthy survival in the songs of children, who chant:

> Salen las monjas
> Con sus toronjas. (Rodríguez Marín I no. 116)

The juxtaposition of nun and grapefruit establishes for Lorca's protagonist a pedigree in which sensuousness is a factor in constant discord with the context. If she prays, her prayer could be two lines from an earlier poem, "Canción del naranjo seco" (from *Canciones*): "Líbrame del suplicio / de verme sin toronjas" (Lorca, Obras I 389). After all, her heart, which is breaking, is one composed of sugar and yarrow, and folklore offers us advice as picturesque as this: "A bunch of dried yarrow hung over the bed or yarrow used in wedding decoration ensures a love lasting at least seven years. Yarrow is also used in love spells" (Cunningham 226). This connection should not surprise us if we have been attentive to the signal emitted in the first line. If "silencio de cal" denotes the cloistered life of the convent, "silencio de mirto" suggests the sexual frustration it causes; it also conditions us for the nun's fantasies when we bear in mind that "Myrtle has long been considered a 'love' herb. ... Myrtle is added to all love sachets and spells, especially those designed to keep love alive and exciting" (Cunningham 160).

The same writer also informs us that "Mallow is ... carried to attract love" (147), that "sunflower seeds are eaten by women who wish to conceive" (205); he counsels us to "Place some magnolia near or beneath the bed to maintain a faithful relationship" (146), and tells us that "Saffron is added to love sachets as well as those aimed at raising lustful feelings" (192). Lorca gives us a privileged look into the nun's mind, which does not formulate thoughts but invokes pictures whose emotional and erotic content is modulated by exclamations, provoking in her a kind of shudder implicit in the lines "Un rumor último y sordo / le despega la camisa" (ll. 23-24). This is the only movement that her body, apart from her hands, makes in the poem. It is the unruly movement of her mind that Lorca exposes to us, and in pointing us toward the "llanura empinada" and "ríos puestos de pie" (ll. 29, 31), he underlines visually through paradox the distorted perspective of a woman who is denied the experiences that are evoked and promised by flowers, rivers, and horsemen galloping over plains.

If we ask what is "La monja gitana" about, we can answer simply: it is about a nun sitting and dreaming. If we ask what "Muerto de amor" is about, we are unable to provide an answer that is simple, or remotely satisfying, for Lorca has written a poem that has been faulted by one critic for "an excessive allusiveness in the presentation of the theme" (Harris 61) and described by another as "the most mystifying poem in the volume" (Havard 152). It is an allusive and mystifying poem, all the more so as the clarity promised by the title is never realized: rather is it obscured by hints and elements as disparate as the smells of wine and amber, the sight of old women weeping, and the sound of accordions played apparently in harmony by seraphim and gypsies.

The first three lines remit us intentionally to the associations aroused by familiar poems, such as the historical *romance* in which King John asks "¡Abenámar, Abenámar...":

¿Qué castillos son aquéllos?
¿Altos son y relucían! (Smith 126)

Lorca's rapid elucidation that the opening question is posed by a child points to the function of popular poetry as the text of innocence in which simple questions hope to elicit replies as straightforward as the title; for the title, "Muerto de amor," represents the kind of simplification, or explanation, that a child would make in response to the complaint voiced by many anonymous traditional poems such as:

Quiérole, madre,
tanto le quiero,
quiérole tanto,

que d'amores muero. (Frenk no. 272)

Made up of lines from two separate *cantos populares*, the child's question signals with candid curiosity the gulf between his expectations of a direct reply and the bewildering scene that will unfold. Those tall corridors are, after all, a feature of a poetic fantasy world inhabited, as in this Andalusian *copla*, by a maiden called Encarnación:

Por los altos corredores
se pasea una doncella,
le llaman Encarnación
porque Dios encarnó en ella. (Fuentes 75)

This is precisely where Lorca had located two gentlemen in the poem "Corredor," from *Primeras canciones*, where he chants:

Por los altos corredores
se pasean dos señores.
.....
... se pasean dos señores,
que antes fueron blancos monjes.
(Lorca, Obras I 262)

In asking "¿Qué es aquello que reluce / por los altos corredores?," the inquisitive child sets within the fantasy of the corridors a question that, commonly used as the first line of *saetas*, normally triggers responses like

Es Jesús de Nazareno
que con la cruz ha caído,

and

Será la Virgen María
Que va por agua a la gloria.
(Rodríguez Marín IV 6524, 6382)

The mother not only fails to reply: she evinces a protectiveness with a command that aims to shield the child and block out the event in an explanation so outrageously farfetched that the rest of the poem shows it to be a well-meaning but absurd lie: "Será que la gente aquella / estará fregando el cobre." The child has to be surprised by an answer—"Cierra la puerta, hijo mío, / acaban de dar las once"—that is a feeble replica of the protectiveness displayed by a child to his mother in an Andalusian *romance*:

—Madre, cierra la puerta
que ladra un perro... (Fuentes 89)

Lorca makes us share the confusion of the child, who, though unable to comprehend all the clues and interpret all the sounds and smells, is able to conclude so decisively that a death has occurred that he reacts in a way hallowed by tradition when he tells his mother (l. 39): "Madre,

cuando yo me muera... ." However, the variation that Lorca introduces shows how the child's mind seizes on a motif of the poem that is stated and restated in a resonant echo: "Tristes mujeres del valle" (l. 27) are complemented by "Viejas mujeres del río" (l. 31), who may or may not be the same ones. In reacting to the presence of women, the child composes a version of the *saetas* that purport to interpret the words of the doomed Jesus during His Passion, as in:

> Cuando muera, Madre mía,
> no me niegues tu favor,
> pues sufro con tu agonía
> y lloro con tu dolor. (Aguilar y Tejera no. 772)

Although the line "Cuando yo me muera" is a commonplace of Andalusian songs and appealed to Lorca in *Poema del cante jondo*, the insertion of the apostrophe to the mother brings the child's words into the religious ambit of the *saeta*, and makes the four lines of his invocation into a version of one inspired by his very premature testamentary wish prefaced by "cuando yo me muera"—equivalent in another, more positive, context to "when *I* grow up." He wants his death to be marked in a way different from the one his young mind has observed: the "blue telegrams" traveling from the South to the North would transcend the narrow localism signalled by the valley and the river, and their recipients—"los señores"—would provide a male presence and introduce some class and correctitude into an event or ceremony that has been vulgarized by the playing of accordions.

Through his wish "que se enteren los señores," Lorca expresses the child's instinct that the four lamps shining in the lofty corridors are props in an event or series of events that are outside the range of his experience. Certainly, the child has made a sobering discovery: that the lofty corridors of popular song and popular ballad exist in real life, that life itself can be more frightening than the fantasies of verse, that the cocoon of a child's world can be punctured by circumstances which, however confusing and dramatized, are dominated by four lights and tall corridors; these combine half-way through the poem (ll. 25-26) in the startling synesthetic evocation of the four lights "clamoring with the fury of St. George." Implicit in the allusion to St. George (who was the subject of one of Lorca's drawings), is the dragon he slew and the chivalric values that prompted his invocation against plague, leprosy, and syphilis. The lights that yell like warriors and flash like swords appear more as agents of death; they are certainly more active than the characters who react to events: the women by weeping and taking down (presumably from the lofty corridors) the victim's blood, and the seraphim and gypsies by playing accordions.

In fact, the natural world, represented by the moon, the night, the wind, the sea, and the sky, are protagonists in a sequence of events that coalesce in a narrative and a soundtrack: the moon puts yellow braids on the yellow towers (ll. 10-12); the night knocks on the windows of the balconies pursued by a thousand dogs, presumably barking (ll. 13-16); the breezes resound through the broken arch of midnight (l. 22); the sea of oaths echoed reverberated in the distance (ll. 49-50); and the sky slammed doors on the windswept forest in a thunderous finale to the occurrences which have elicited in people sounds that are inconsistent, dissonant, even incongruous: while the accordions suggest celebration, the "rumor de viejas voces" (l. 20) hints at religious chanting, the women's weeping (l. 32) "al pie del monte" (l. 32) suggests the sorrow of the Crucifixion, and the "siete gritos" (l. 43) are sounds motivated by the death which has apparently taken place. Furthermore, these screams are appropriate to the wake that is being recreated for us by the mind of a child through an extraordinary display of understanding on Lorca's part. In describing a gypsy wake, Juan de Dios Ramírez Heredia has stressed the importance of the human voice in displays of emotion that run the gamut from singing the praises of the deceased to loud wailing and fainting:

> El velatorio para los gitanos españoles, que dura veinticuatro horas como para el resto de la población del país, no es más que la concentración de gran número de personas, familiares y llegados que hacen compañía al difunto hasta la hora del enterramiento. Durante este espacio de tiempo se suceden los comentarios sobre los hechos y milagros del muerto mientras estuvo en vida. Se cuentan sus hazañas y se exageran de forma extraordinaria sus virtudes, sacándose a relucir muchos pasajes de su vida en los que tuvo algún gesto destacado o protagonizó algún acontecimiento extraordinario. ...
>
> Estos comentarios, naturalmente, suelen ir acompañados de escenas lastimosas, de lamentaciones estentóreas de los familiares más íntimos y a veces de desmayos y pérdidas del conocimiento de las mujeres, todo ello lo más natural del mundo ante los dolorosos momentos que la familia está viviendo. (Ramírez Heredia 90)

Lorca has muted people's reactions at the same time that he has subordinated their actions to those of nature, dwarfing them in a setting whose dimensions are consistently exaggerated as in an Expressionist painting, and whose sinister, labyrinthine features, evident in the insistence on corridors (ll. 2, 18, 24, 54), "oscuros salones" (l. 46), and night made "cuadrada and blanca" by the lime-washed façades (l. 36),

evoke the intimidating open spaces and chiaroscuros painted by Giorgio de Chirico. In a setting that is menacing and amid sounds that are elegiac, the accordions strike a discordant note, as incongruous in this poem as in *L'Age d'or*, in which Péman, in the early scene in the cottage, tells his ragged defenders: "Vous avez des accordéons..." Like the amber mentioned earlier, accordions warn us not to expect a complete understanding of the poem—or, I suspect, of ourselves. While the complicity of seraphim and gypsies glorifies the latter, it is achieved through an instrument that, although "now heard in concert halls and symphony orchestras," is still associated in the minds of many people with vaudeville acts, square dances, and festive occasions (Charahus 9). Although Emilio Carrere identified it as the "Madrileño acordeón, / machacón y pertinaz" in his poem "El acordeón" (Carrere 12), Lorca would not have had to go to the Spanish capital to hear it; according to the recollection of one writer, the streets of Granada once echoed with the dissonant sounds of an orchestra composed of "Guitarras, bandurrias, acordeón, triángulo y música tradicional y sencilla" (Méndez Vellido 154). What is clear is that the seraphim are celebrating, albeit boisterously, the entry of a soul into heaven with an instrument very different from the stringed instruments, usually the lute, that they play in paintings by Bellini, Carpaccio, El Greco, Hans Memling, and Mathias Gruenewald, whose angel happily strokes a viola d'amour (Regamey). However, one of the four angelic musicians painted by Memling plays a portative organ, which, like the accordion, requires the pumping of a bellows with one hand and the fingering of keys with the other. In imagining the gypsies playing in harmony with seraphim, Lorca makes them too into descendants of the musical angels. And his insistence on "cuatro faroles" (l. 6) and "cuatro luces" (l. 25) acquires a point if we recall that there are, according to the similarly explicit Book of Enoch (26:9) four seraphim, each one of whom has four faces (Odeberg 92).

What kind of reaction did Lorca expect to evince when he introduced into the nocturnal scene a smell of wine and amber? If we draw on the common knowledge that amber, when heated, exudes a pleasant smell, we can then wonder why it would have been heated during the events that he is sketching? There are various answers in the many superstitious beliefs surrounding amber, most of which agree that, worn as talisman, necklace, or pendant, it has effective powers against witchcraft, evil in general, and against illnesses such as sore throats, diphtheria, and goiter (Lasne and Pascal Gaultier 37). Among the amber figurines found in the ancient tombs of Vetulonia, of the 7th century B.C., are many of the oriental deity of fecundity (Spekke 28); this con-

nection between amber and child-bearing extends to the superstitious beliefs that, reduced to a powder, it prevents women from having miscarriages, and that when burned it eases difficult childbirths (Lasne and Pascal Gaultier 37). Sexual enticement is certainly implicit in the old Scottish custom by which a mother gave her daughter on her wedding night a set of lammer beads, which, when warmed up, would make her smell sweet to her husband (Opie and Tatem 1-2).

Behind the wine, amber, and accordions, behind the weeping and the shouting, are human beings who react in complex, even irrational, ways to the incidents in which they become involved. Validated by centuries of superstitious association with curative and antropopaic powers, amber hints at the menace of dark forces and life-threatening conditions such as plague or childbirth. When the women take down the blood of the male victim, which is as peaceful as a cut flower and bitter because it comes from a young thigh, they demonstrate the triumph of those dark forces in a situation that has no resolution: the lights that merely shone at the beginning are clamoring at the end, so that the poem has no climax or catharsis, and we as readers are left to wander amid mixed signals that may send us in different directions.

Enigma and ambiguity are Lorca's answer to, even retaliation against, superficiality and transparency: in the presentation of people and their motives and actions; in the deployment of narratives; in the celebration of cities, which, like Córdoba, became laden with platitudes. In "Muerto de amor" particularly, Lorca replaces narrative sequence with a series of mixed signals that transfer the action from the interior of the poem itself to the mind of each reader; in so doing, he extends the possibilities of the Spanish *romance* to an extreme that perhaps he himself had never foreseen when he recounted his realization that the ballad form was ideally suited to an expression of his sensibility; what is evident is that the ballad form became the vehicle, against all odds and tradition, of what he (and René Magritte in a different medium) called "el misterio póetico."

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The Tenacity of Faint Hopes: Neruda in the Late 1920s

The title of my essay is spliced from two different verses in "Sonata y Destrucciones." As a whole the phrase describes accurately the dialectical tension that plagued Neruda during the years leading up to the Great Depression. However damaging and alienating the late 1920s and early 30s were for Neruda, social and existencial alienation serves paradoxically as the very basis for the rejuvenation of Neruda's poetry. Indeed, we could go as far as to claim that this alienating state of affairs is the *necessary preamble* for creating more comprehensive poetry, found, for instance, in *Canto general*. In both Chile and the Orient the social circumstances offer "faint hopes" to the young poet. But hope is the subject's internalizing of conditions over which he often has little or no control. The individual who hopes generally does so *passively*. Thus the need to speak of "tenacity," which reflects Neruda's *active* resistance against the prevailing socio-economic situation and his attempt to use poetry as vehicle for overcoming his alienation. In what follows I am going to analyze this passive/active dialectic as it plays itself out in the *Residencia en la tierra* poems. Neruda's *Residencia en la tierra* (1925-1935) and the first section of *Tercera residencia* (1935-1945) document his battle with language as a struggle to be accepted socially and not be marginalized in society.

Neruda's struggle for artistic autonomy and professional recognition plays a decisive role in these poems. "Success" in the field of culture, as Pierre Bourdieu has shown, is not defined, as in the economic realm, by direct financial advancement, but rather by the symbolic profits one may derive as a player in the field. While this holds true, particularly in the case of those who have inherited cultural and economic capital, it is exceedingly difficult for an artist from a working-class background, such as Neruda, to gain recognition and acceptance in the poetic field. The disadvantages weigh him down from the very start, making the chances of "success" all the more tenuous. By contrast, poets with inherited economic and cultural capital, like Vicente Huidobro, deem poetry to be "prophecy and sport simultaneously." To borrow the words of Bourdieu, poets like Huidobro, "move like fish in the water," while the more disadvantaged, like salmon, must swim against the current. So Neruda's "avantgardist" stage—the *Residencias*—is not a game, a moment of position jostling, or a chance

to ruffle the feathers of traditionalists, but rather a serious and suffering moment of his life expressed in his poetry. It is a period of intense emotional and economic crisis. This, and his stay in Spain during the civil war, explain, to a large degree, his shift from avantgardist to critical realist poetry or popular poésie engagé, whereas for other poets—like Huidobro—the vangardist phase lasts much longer. I use the term "phase" here intentionally. Huidobro's poetry, even in the 1940s, generally remains straightjacketed in vanguard aesthetics. For Neruda, by contrast, this vanguardist stage fits into a larger framework as a dialectically related part to the whole.

As friends such as Rafael Alberti, José Hernández, and Federico García Lorca commit themselves to the Republican side, as the Nationalist assaults on civilians and the Republic mount, and as his surrogate home, Madrid, is invaded by Nationalist forces and is bombarded, Neruda's political commitment deepens. The severity and immediacy of the war-time situation transform the way he conceives his poetry: in a poetic reportage he graphically records the events of the civil war from a Republican point of view. So Neruda's concerns with and passionate interests in the experimentalism of the avant garde gradually begins to wane as he is challenged to express the socio-political reality that is painfully exploding around him. His vanguardist phase, *Residencia en la tierra*, is intimately associated with cultural and personal alientation in the Orient, and simply cannot survive in historical conditions that demand its repudiation. Introversion and convoluted language transform themselves through their negation: extroversion (commitment) and intelligible realism. Yet Neruda's experience in the Orient, recorded in the *Residencia en la tierra* poetry, lays the groundwork formally and thematically for *Tercera residencia* and *Canto general*. Without *Residencia en la tierra* the later works, which gain a sophisticated understanding of historical, political, social and poetic factors, would be impossible.

I. The Struggle for Autonomy

It is in the Orient in particular that Neruda, as a young Consul who barely manages to make ends meet, writes the greater portion of *Residencia en la tierra*. As Neruda himself remarks in his memoirs, he is immediately faced with multifaceted social conflicts that pit the interests of the developed, imperialist countries against those of the local population:

> Todo el esoterismo filosófico de los países orientales,
> confrontado con la vida real, se revelaba como un subproducto

> de la inquietud, de la neurosis, de la desorientación y del oportunismo occidentales; es decir, de la crisis de principios del capitalismo. En la India no había por aquellos años muchos sitios para las contemplaciones del ombligo profundo. Una vida de brutales exigencias materiales, una condición colonial cimentada en la más acendrada abyección, miles de muertos cada día, de cólera, de viruela, de fiebres y de hambre, organizaciones feudales desequilibradas por su inmensa población y su pobreza industrial imprimían a la vida una gran ferocidad en la que los reflejos místicos desaparecían.

As a foreigner living out an existence as a poorly paid Consul, Neruda had to deal with these brutal contradictions in Indian society on a continual basis. His own social situation was nothing but ironic. He had been given an official post working for the Chilean government abroad and thus was socially and rhetorically accepted as a member of the professional class. As a foreign diplomat he was granted a special status that allowed him to associate with other official representatives of the British government. But his own real economic status contradicted the political position with which he had been "consecrated." Neruda found himself trapped between two worlds. The reality of his economic status made him feel uncomfortable among the British civil servants who had much more when it came to economic means and who were the official representatives of the Empire in India. By the same token, even though his economic status made him a natural ally of the working population in India, he held a special political post which made him a professional. This was a situation of which Neruda, by his own account, was very aware:

> Las castas tenían clasificadas la población india como en un coliseo paralelepípedo de galerías superpuestas en cuyo tope se sentaban los dioses. Los ingleses mantenían a su vez su escalafón de castas que iba desde el pequeño empleado de tienda, pasaba por los profesionales e intelectuales, seguía con los exportadores, y culminaba con la azotea del aparato en la cual se sentaban cómodamente los aristócratas del Civil Service y los banqueros del *empire*.

From his autobiography, letters he wrote during this period, and the work of his biographers, we know that the open social conflicts that beset Indian society had a very profound effect on Neruda but he did not feel empowered to do anything about them. His working conditions, in which he fulfilled his duty as a bureaucrat who at times would have to wait for weeks or months before carrying out official duty, also added to the solitude that engulfed him. In 1928, in a letter to the

Chilean writer José Santos González Vera he expressed his desperation due to personal and social conditions:

> Yo sufro, me angustio con hallazgos horribles, me quema el clima, maldigo a mi madre y a mi abuela, converso días enteros con mi cacatúa, pago por mensualidades un elefante. Los días me caen en la cabeza como palos, no escribo, no leo, vestido de blanco y con casco de corcho, auténtico fantasma, mis deseos están influenciados por la tempestad y las limonadas.

In this atmosphere poetry takes on two different general roles. This alienation drowns him, but he is able to keep his head above water by believing, desperately, that poetry represents a refuge, an escape valve that helps him affirm himself and gives him a reason to live. This, in effect, is the "prophetic" stage of his poetry. At this stage in his life, Neruda does seem somewhat persuaded by the bourgeois canonization of the poet as a "genius" or "prophet." On one occassion the young Neruda even described himself brashly as a gifted individual of "ambiciones expresivas bastante sobrehumanas." In this statement we can see the insecurity about and subsequent overcompensation for his precarious struggle to gain recognition in the poetic field. This type of a reaction makes sense if we look at his dominated position in the field of cultural production as well as the socio-economic and affective impact of exile in India.

Surrounded, virtually lost in his social environment, and overcome by the social injustices and his own economic plight, Neruda seeks his expression and revenge in the density of language. The more ephemeral and esoteric, the more he can champion himself as a survivor of the circumstances. Even more significantly, he can perhaps abandon his job as a bureaucrat who sells his labor power to the State, and aspire to be a "professional" poet, which would allow him to have more control over his own destiny. In this latter case, he would be at the mercy of publishing houses and editors, but if he were successful, he could attain a certain degree of autonomy. But this is an uneasy proposition that is weighed down by the reality of his real economic and social dependence. This, then, explains the other major current in his poetry of the period, the one that takes precedence over the former: his alienation produces an interest in learning from the surrounding reality and critically recording it. This side of Neruda's poetic enterprise exposes indirectly the brutalities of capitalism and imperialism in the British colonies.

II. Spectres and the Weight of Objectivity

We can observe the alienation he suffers from due to his economic livelyhood, his social relations, his exile, and his poetic theory in two poems from the *Residencias* period, "Galope muerto" and "Sonata y destrucciones." In the first poem the speaker dissolves into the nature he strives to describe; in the second he begins to acknowledge and confront the natural forces that haunt him.

A first stage in the process of recording his own alienation and learning from it is represented vividly in "Galope muerto," written in Chile in 1926:

Como cenizas, como mares poblándose,
en la sumergida lentitud, en lo informe,
o como se oyen desde el alto de los caminos
cruzar las campanadas en cruz,
teniendo ese sonido ya aparte del metal,
confuso, pesando, haciéndose polvo
en el mismo molino de la formas demasiado lejos,
o recordadas o no vistas,
y el perfume de las ciruelas que rodando a tierra
se pudren en el tiempo, infinitamente verdes.

It seems as though a series of negating images are in fact the protagonists of this environment: "ashes," "confused," "ponderous" (or weighing), "dust," [forms] "either remembered or not seen" and the "plums...[that] rot." Forms are here detached from their by-products. The problem is that the virtual omnipotence of matter engulfs the speaker. At this point, he is incapable of accessing or approximating these natural elements in language. The poet confronts nature with the apparent impotence of poetic language. So the sound that resonates from the metal bell is confusing, weighty, and turning to dust. Entropy and chance have seized the poet's imagination: all forms seem to decompose or disintegrate to the point where they may be "o recordadas o no vistas." The fear that inhabits the poet is that his poetry will meet this fate as well. While there is a by-product in Nature's work—the cherries' perfume, the ash, the populating seas, the bell's sound—it is in peril of escaping the senses of human beings. Nature's own labor and our work in it face the probability of being enveloped by natural laws and of being forgotten by other human beings.

The only oblique references to human beings are the senses—*someone* must be hearing the bells and smelling the cherries. Yet, even at this stage of his poetic production, there are among the gaps in this stanza, presences which are generated. These positive or generating elements are in fact *relations:* the sound of the bell, for instance, is produced by the impact of two metals, and must be created or rung by

someone. But the sound is not something that one can empirically point to because it is the *mediation* of material production. Like the language of the poet, it is a communicative vessel which has social ramifications; it is the production of matter, but it fades away, except in the consciousness and daily life of the community. But if that community is absent, the poet's labor cannot attain fruition. While nature can carry on without human intervention, human beings are dependent on nature for everything that they are. Human activity and its creative products (poetry or a bell's music) are helplessly dependent on nature, but nature, human beings' "inorganic body" in the words of Marx, outlives us. In "Galope muerto," then, Neruda affirms the rift between human beings and their creative or forced labor; the latter immersed in the former.

In the first verses we come across the interpenetration of material forms and their (apparently) ephemeral by-products. Yet the result at this stage in the dialectial process is the reification—or referential detachment—that is necessary to make the part intelligible in its relation to the whole. The part, nature in this instance, is detached from human life even though both are part of a whole—our vital experiences as human beings. By observing things this way Neruda has isolated objectivity and tried to analyze its motion. And the result is that as he underlines the destructiveness of this process—of material change—the remnants act as positive counterforces to this entropy.

So Neruda has focused his attention on the social despair that besieges him in the Orient. Since humans are absent, or are only present in the fruits of their labor, Neruda's dialectical method and understanding has not reached the heights it does in *Canto general*. However, as Jaime Concha and Alain Sicard maintain, we can already verify it at work in the *Residencia en la tierra*, as these verses attest:

> Aquello todo tan rápido, tan viviente,
> inmóvil sin embargo, como la polea loca en sí misma,
> esas ruedas de los motores, en fin.
> Existiendo como las puntadas secas en las costuras del árbol,
> callado, por alrededor, de tal modo,
> mezclando todos los limbos sus colas.
> Es que de dónde, por dónde, en qué orilla?
> El rodeo constante, incierto, tan mudo,
> como las lilas alrededor del convento
> o la llegada de la muerte a la lengua del buey
> que cae a tumbos, guardabajo, y cuyos cuernos quieren sonar.
> (9-10)

The first verse immediately appears to contradict the second verse of

the first stanza ("sumergida lentitud"), unless the sluggishness is the way material things appear, and the swiftness of all that is unitary change, is Time. These existing things ("existiendo") are in the process of becoming, or of "secreting time" as Christopher Caudwell puts it. Significantly, the only verbs are gerunds—the very expression of being in a grammatical form. Contradictions are in fact the motorforce of these natural and inanimate things. In slowness and, even more graphically, in immobility velocity meets it's opposite.

As a metaphor the pulley captures succinctly the idea that Neruda is trying to convey: even though the wheel appears, from a distance, to be a still sphere, it is rotating at a rapid rate. But the wheel's shape does not change when it is in motion. The same can be said for the rope attached to the pulley: its geometrical outline—the straight line—seems to be immobile, but the rope too is moving. Notice, however, that Neruda places the emphasis on the pulley itself or, as in the following verse, on motor wheels. What interests him is the genesis of this motion, its *raison d'etre.*

The speaker is omniscient, yet he is the one who searches, who asks: "Es que de dónde, por dónde en qué orilla?" In other words, what is the origin of this growth, this death, this life? The speaker's own uncertainty is underlined by that question and by the references to "El rodeo constante, incierto, tan mudo " and "las costuras del árbol, callado." Transformation is constant and rapid, but its source is what remains an enigma.

However, Neruda is not content to simply block off all access to the origin of the movement that surrounds him by declaring it a mystery. His critical realist method and way of thinking encourages him to go beyond those limits. In the first stanza he already suggested a possible solution: it is not found in things-in-themselves, but in the *relations* among things and human beings. Indeed, the last two verses of this stanza revisit the consequences of these internal relations. While change may reign supreme—in the case of the ox's death—it does not lead to nothingness. Implicit references in these two verses point to metaphors for poetry. The ox's tongue and horns are communicative and artistic vehicles respectively. Following a familiar artistic claim, Neruda may be suggesting that, even though the poet is mortal, his works may stand as popular instruments to be used posthumously. Indeed, it is this search for meaning and, ultimately, immortality that produces anxiety in him and drives him foward.

In the third stanza the speaker emerges more fully than in the first two and leads us to believe that our hypothesis about the ox is accurate:

Por eso, en lo inmóvil, deteniéndose, percibir,
entonces, como aleteo inmenso, encima,
como abejas muertas o números,
ay, lo que mi corazón pálido no puede abarcar,
en multitudes, en lágrimas saliendo apenas,
y esfuerzos humanos, tormentas,
acciones negras descubiertas de repente
como hielos, desorden vasto,
oceánico, para mí que entro cantando,
como con una espada entre indefensos. (10)

Whereas before the speaker's presence was scarcely identified, in these verses the speaker does not despair even though he is still faced with the "vast disorder." On the contrary, he expresses his frustration at not being capable of recording all the results of this disorder: "ay, lo que mi corazón pálido no puede abarcar." Even though confusion takes center stage here, the speaker does not feel necessarily entrapped or burdened by existential anguish—as Manuel Durán and Margery Safir contend. If anything, one could argue that he is overconfident; proof perhaps of what several critics have called his "prophetic vocation." Thus his exhuberant declaration that he enters "cantando, / como una espada entre indefensos." But this inflated stance contrasts with his "pale heart." In perceiving the reality that surrounds him Neruda confronts the seemingly "pale" attempt to represent that reality in his poetry. But this is on the level of appearance. On a deeper, internally related level, there is an infinite amount of natural activity that lies underneath the appearance of chaos. As these verses underscore, human beings do not just capitulate to the objectivity of nature; they attempt, however imperfectly, *to shape* nature through their intervention. However overwhelmed he may be by the complexity of reality and his ability to represent it, the poet still manages to map out its major forces.

The fourth and fifth stanzas return to the question that he posed in the second; namely, what is the origin of relations (sound, the transition between night and time, etc.)?

Ahora bien, de qué está hecho ese surgir de palomas
que hay entre la noche y el tiempo, como una barranca
húmeda?
Ese sonido ya tan largo
que cae listando de piedras los caminos,
más bien, cuando solo una hora
crece de improviso, extendiéndose sin tregua.

Adentro del anillo del verano

una vez los grandes zapallos escuchan,
estirando sus plantas conmovedoras,
de eso, de lo que solicitándose mucho,
de lo lleno, oscuros de pesadas gotas (10).

These final stanzas address and clarify the questions raised throughout the poem if we follow the images highlighted previously. If we claim that the doves, commonly associated with poets and poetry, fulfill their archetypal role, the connection with the sound ("ese sonido") becomes more apparent. The poet's words, like stones on the road, are only meaningful when they are read and understood by most human beings. His words only have "eternal charm," as Marx put it in the *Grundrisse*, when they become part of living history. It is only by joining social history that poetry can hope to become an historical invariant, that is, an active part of human memory. But we cannot help but recall that this sound, like the bell's, is as ephemeral and fragile as life itself.

In this poem, as in the bulk of the *Residencia en la tierra* poems, Neruda is forced to come to grips with time, or the recognition of difference and finality, even in Chile (where he faced no language barrier) just before his departure to the Orient, where his tenuous economic status seems to weigh on him so heavily. Indeed, we know from biographical sources and Neruda's own memoirs that he led a precarious existence as a student and, later, as a poorly paid functionary in Santiago before his departure to the Orient. Significantly though, Neruda does not turn away from the pressure of time, but rather launches himself into an exploration of it. By doing so, he begins to discover the limits of his existence, mutually determined as it is by time and space. The title of the poem itself, "Galope muerto," testifies to this negative dialectic. The "gallop" metaphorically represents change, motion, entropy; while the "dead" figures are emblems of time and the end of life.

III. Affirmation Amidst Destruction

This is in fact the thread that the reader can follow throughout *Residencia en la tierra* (including the first half of the *Tercera residencia*). "Sonata y destrucciones" was written in Rangoon in 1928, and is an intensification of the speaker's search for meaning in a environment that appears bereft of significance to him. The social situation in which Neruda was living at the time hindered the flowering of his needs and potentials. Yet the poet advances beyond his stance in "Galope muerto" by affirming himself in the ruins that surround him. In this sense "So-

nata y destrucciones" is analogous to a later poem in *Tercera residencia*—"Canto sobre unas ruinas"—save one all-important difference: the destruction here does not refer to Nationalist offensives during the Spanish civil war, but rather to evolution in nature. In this context Neruda suffers from existential anguish yet he tries to make it a creative part of himself.

> Después de mucho, después de vagas leguas,
> confuso de dominios, incierto de territorios,
> acompañado de pobres esperanzas
> y compañías infieles y desconfiados sueños,
> amo lo tenaz que aún sobrevive en mis ojos,
> oigo en mi corazón mis pasos de jinete,
> muerdo del fuego dormido y la sal arruinada,
> y de noche, de atmósfera oscura y luto prófugo,
> aquel que vela a la orilla de los campamentos,
> el viajero armado de estériles resistencias,
> detenido entre sombras que crecen y alas que tiemblan,
> me siento ser, y mi brazo de piedra me defiende. (43)

A qualitative leap has taken place in Neruda as regards his alienation. In the beginning of *Residencia en la tierra*, voids appeared in tandem with motion, a motion in which the individual was lost. This sense of misdirection is captured in the images "vague leagues," "confused," "uncertain." Neruda could have easily settled for the relativism of things if concrete economic and social reality had not persistently eaten away at him. These very forces, along with his exile, contribute to a new personal transformation. But the speaker now reverses his direction. Rather than fleeing from what threatens him—change in the universe, the finality of the self—he now faces the destruction that lays before him. As the title suggests, the very instrument of his liberation ("sonata"—poetry) becomes imbricated in the realm of necessity (those forces that exist semi-autonomously from human life). Negation becomes the object of affirmation: "Amo lo tenaz que aún sobrevive en mis ojos, / oigo en mi corazón mis pasos de jinete, / muerdo del fuego dormido y la sal arruinada." As the very effects of absence, negation and destruction begin to turn into their opposites, they furnish a space for presence, affirmation and creation.

What is ingenious about these verses is the way Neruda portrays this transition in both form and content. He begins with ambiguous and inconstant images—"vague," "confused," "uncertain"—and then moves, in verses three and four, to apparent oxymorons (or dialectical relations)—"faint hopes," "unfaithful company" and "distrustful dreams"—to bold affirmations—"I love," "I hear," "I bite." In that

way the process Neruda had to go through in his life is recaptured in three distinct yet intertwined stages. Moreover, Neruda's understanding of this transformation has evidently followed a similar pattern: the images develop from the abstract to the concrete. Neruda has become accustomed to the alienation that has plagued him and it has become the force against which he can make his life meaningful and less alienated. In this context his poetry becomes a recording of his engagement with these objective forces. This sharpens his social consciousness. Now the speaker states that he feels himself becoming, or, as he announces in the second stanza, he adores his "propio ser perdido" (43). In other words, his individual struggle becomes intelligible as he becomes more conscious of the social context.

> Hay entre ciencias de llanto un altar confuso,
> y en mi sesión de atardeceres sin perfume,
> en mis abandonados dormitorios donde habita la luna,
> y arañas de mi propiedad, y destrucciones que me son
> queridas,
> adoro mi propio ser perdido, mi substancia imperfecta,
> mi golpe de plata y mi pérdida eterna.
> Ardió la uva húmeda, y su agua funeral
> aún vacila, aún reside,
> y el patrimonio estéril, y el domicilio traidor.
> Quién hizo ceremonia de cenizas?
> Quién amó lo perdido, quién protegió lo último?
> El hueso del padre, la madera del buque muerto,
> y su propio final, su misma huida,
> su fuerza triste, su dios miserable? (43-44)

The adverse conditions, an integral part of the speaker's being, are here enumerated and given more ominous weight through the repetition of conjunctions and commas. This poetic technique forces the reader to digest the bitterness of these characterizations of the speaker's home. It is as though his desire is coming to terms with reality—the reality of motion, change, as well as the social reality of living in those specific economic conditions in the Orient: "adoro mi propio ser perdido, mi substancia imperfecta." At this stage the "destruction" or change he observed before him in nature has become a part of him. In this setting a perplexing statement like "destrucciones que me son, / queridas" can be grasped in its dialectical complexity. The suffering he has endured has led to a better understanding of himself.

As half of this stanza testifies—and Rodríguez Monegal is correct to point out—a good part of the speaker's anguish is due to his familial relations. Exile and his economic status do take their toll, but

his relations with his father in particular, who never encouraged him as a young poet, crushed his self-confidence. So, rehabilitating himself necessarily involves critiquing this antagonistic tie with his father. Repetition plays a crucial role here. Possessive adjectives pertaining to the first person—the speaker—clash structurally and thematically with those connected to the third person (his father). So the tension in this domestic scenario is thereby increased.

Yet Neruda's poetry also occupies more space in his life as his connections to his father, and to the family generally, deteriorate. His family is characterized here in unmistakably negative terms as "patrimonio estéril " and "domicilio traidor." In the absence of strong familial and social bonds, the speaker posits poetry as an intimate, cathartic vehicle for expressing his feelings of desolation, his involvement in spontaneous passionate affairs, and his disenchantment with his economic and professional status.

It is interesting to note in passing that his rejection of direct monetary rewards and the "respectable" and well-paid position his working-class family wanted him to enter, while typical of the field of the cultural production, produces a great deal of frustration if he does not reap symbolic profits. And at this stage Neruda has yet to become a legitimate player in the field, so this cathartic vehicle may be therapeutic, but it is not of help economically. He only begins to gain notoriety in the field when he manages to have *Residencia en la tierra* published in Spain. But even at that point he continued to live off of his modest salary as a member of the diplomatic corps.

The result of social and economic anxiety is that it opens up a gaping hole in his life which is replaced by his poetic vocation and erotic exploration (Josie Bliss being the most celebrated of his early lovers). Neruda's close friend and biographer Volodia Teitelboim gives contradictory explanations for the poet's erotic exploration, both of which, in my estimation, are right. On the one hand, Teitelboim states that Neruda confided to him that "no podía resistir el amor el amor o la insinuación femenina." On the other hand, the biographer says that Neruda "se agarra a la vida. Lo atan a ella las mujeres, porque no es todavía la Mujer. Pero esto de ir de cama en cama, de niña en niña, nativa, mulata o inglesa, lo daña por dentro y lo satura de hastío." Both quotes are undoubtedly true. His life does lose some meaning as he engages in all these erotic affairs, which often exacerbate his alienation. But Neruda also seems to have derived some important human meaning and pleasure during these rendezvous. Neruda feels magnetically attached to women and accepts adventures as they come. Poetry and erotic explorations help provide him with creativity and

pleasure in an otherwise estranging environment.

Internalizing the alienations that plague him helps Neruda, and his erotic encounters and poetry give him the strength to survive and then to combat his solitude. The last stanza of "Sonata y destrucciones" summarizes succinctly this procedure of negating social alienation burdening him:

> Acecho, pues, lo inanimado y lo doliente,
> y el testimonio extraño que sostengo,
> con eficiencia cruel y escrito en cenizas,
> es la forma de olvido que prefiero,
> el nombre que doy a la tierra, el valor de mis sueños,
> la cantidad interminable que divido
> con mis ojos de invierno, durante cada día de este mundo (44).

The first verse, in fact, encapsulates precisely the essence of his struggle. He lies in wait of the inanimate (the material forces that change constantly) and the harmful (the effects of those forces on human beings, in particular, on the poet). Oscillating between self-negation and self-transformation, his poetic enterprise, "testimonio extraño," is still rooted in the recognition and acceptance of alienation and negation. Indeed, the laws of the universe govern his own finality and dominate his conscious existence, as witness the references to death in "la forma de olvido " and "mis ojos de invierno." Yet he finds meaning in documenting his own struggle for survival in an alien environment. And it is true that his social conditions have changed little, so why should one expect him to be able to overcome this alienation? Yet I hope it is evident from the analysis of "Galope muerto" and "Sonata y destrucciones" that the speaker and his Weltanshaaung undergo metamorphosis in the first volume of *Residencia en la tierra*. No longer adversaries, but rather allies in his journey, nature, economic depravation, and social isolation furnish him with the weapons for his struggle. Armed with these and his many rendezvous with Josie Bliss, he transforms his poetry into the testament of his revitalization.

In the face of the overwhelming force of economic, social, and natural phenomena, which envelop and almost smother the poet, we are left with "faint hopes." But that is not all. The hopes, however faint they may be, do not only consist of "angustia, confesiones, melancolía " balanced with "misterio, profecía, y plenitud " as Rodríguez Monegal contends. In a general sense it is true that *Residencia en la tierra* is populated with references to the speaker's alienation, but Neruda does not wallow sorrowfully in his estrangement nor champion his solitude. Even though Neruda's *Residencias* are consciously autobiographical and subjectively inclined, they do not celebrate his

solitude, or melodramatically make tragic claims for the individual. The torrent of anguish Neruda feels is never presented as a statement about human nature per se. To consider only the "faint hopes" or the "mystery" in the *Residencias* is to resign oneself to a fixed view of human nature. This reading overlooks the vital countervailing tendency, the dynamic, negative force in Neruda's dialectic. Tenacity drives him forward, allows him to recognize and overcome the social alienation that has invaded him, and provides the occasion for restoring hope in "España en el corazón". Immersed in the Spanish civil war, in the heat of class struggle, Neruda is able to negate the negation of his experience in the Orient. No longer suffering from a language barrier, social isolation, and the tedium tied to his job, and faced with outwardly unjust socio-political conditions that affect him on a daily basis, Neruda is able to expand the range of his poetry both in form and content. The harsh realism of the civil war demands to be heard and the moral imperative of the poet responds.

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Depois do Apocalipse: Utopia e Identidade em Quatro Romances Brasileiros

"Tierra de desterrados natos es ésta,
de nostalgiosos de lo lejano y ajeno"
(Borges, 1993: 11)

Registrada em um ensaio dedicado a analisar a identidade argentina, a frase de Borges traduz um sentimento característico do mundo latino-americano em geral: mundo sem passado, sem identidade fixa, à busca de um rosto e de uma história que possam lhe dar a dignidade de um destino nacional. No cenário da cultura brasileira não poderia ser diferente: dez anos depois, em *Raízes do Brasil*, Sérgio Buarque de Holanda retoma o tema quase com as mesmas palavras: "somos ainda hoje os desterrados em nossa terra."[1] Liberto dos elos coloniais, o país sentiu quase de imediato a necessidade de construir um passado digno do pai europeu. Em meio à sua tremenda mescla de raças, culturas e tradições, onde encontrar a pureza de uma origem? Como evitar a saudade da *história do outro*, da secular segurança de Europa? Ou então, como evitar a saudade de *uma história que ainda não existe*? Terra de desterrados natos, sem dúvida. Lugar que ainda aguarda essa realização histórico-social capaz determinar-lhe um centro e uma finalidade. Não admira o espanto de Francisca, personagem de Antonio Callado, a questionar em um cena de *Quarup*: "Pois você não acha incrível que ainda exista um país em busca de seu coração?" (233). De fato, trata-se de uma busca que, mesmo agora, ainda está longe de terminar. Tanto o citado texto de Callado como os outros três romances que iremos analisar figuram a continuidade dessa busca. *Quarup*, *Maíra*, *Expedição Montaigne* e *Utopia Selvagem* esboçam, através de quinze anos de história nacional, não um rosto definido e final, mas o conjunto de anseios, mitos, esperanças e desilusões que marcam o percurso de um país em compasso de espera. Todos eles se fazem as mesmas perguntas: onde está o coração do Brasil? Onde está sua origem (que também é o seu fim)? Qual é a sua história?

A diversidade de respostas e caminhos oferecidos pelas quatro obras não é, contudo, menos interessante que a unidade de perguntas e temas que propõem. Talvez o aspecto mais fascinante que a comparação desses textos ilumina seja precisamente a variedade de alternativas que produzem em meio a sua impressionante concordância temática. Com efeito, de *Quarup* (1967) a *Expedição Montaigne* (1982) é possível identificar uma aguda transformação nos *tropos* e imagens que constituem o eixo central da trama dos romances. Essa transformação

reflete, sem dúvida, as grandes mudanças socias e culturais atravessadas pelo Brasil no período pós-ditadura. O fracasso do 'milagre econômico' e a permanente crise sócio-política que se segue alinham-se, em nível regional, com os fenômenos globais da queda das ideologias tradicionais, da massificação da cultura e da absorção de uma estética dita 'pós-moderna' no cenário cultural do país, para desconstruir o ideal utópico ainda presente nos primeiros romances de Callado e Darcy Ribeiro.

Retratos de utopias possíveis ou de distopias que anunciam a derrocada dos sonhos, os quatro romances constróem um espaço fabulatório onde se problematiza a questão da identidade em todos os níveis. Questão que visa preencher um vazio histórico característico não apenas do Brasil, mas da América Latina como um todo. Vera Figueiredo aponta, por exemplo, a significativa convergência temática de *Quarup* e *Maíra* com um romance como *Los Pasos Perdidos*, de Alejo Carpentier:

> Nas três obras, seguiremos a trajetória de um intelectual que vai à selva, em busca de um passado a ser resgatado, de um novo início. A viagem é, assim, mais que um deslocamento espacial - é, sobretudo, um deslocamento temporal, propiciado pelas diferenças culturais. Configura-se como recuo possível na história. Empreendida por personagens cuja formação se realiza segundo padrões da tradição cultural européia, que conhecem essa tradição por livros e porque viveram na Europa, a viagem à selva instaura, no interior do universo ficcional, a reflexão sobre o Outro que existe nos países caracterizados por uma realidade díspar, onde convivem indivíduos de tempos diversos. Conhecer esse Outro seria descobrir a própria terra e pensar, a partir dele, qual tem sido e qual será nosso lugar na história. (9)

Sem dúvida, trata-se de viajar não somente no espaço, senão também, e principalmente, no tempo. A utopia é freqüentemente uma *ucronia*, que atua em direção ao *futuro* (p. ex., o *Brave New World* de Huxley), ao *passado* (p. ex., a Atlântida de Platão), ou a um lugar sem tempo (p. ex., o Paraíso bíblico). Nos romances que nos propomos analisar convivem espaços geográficos e temporais diversos e cruzam-se dois modelos temporais básicos, o do mito e o da teleologia racional do Ocidente. A investigação desses espaços fabulatórios, dessas temporalidades míticas e históricas, das figuras e símbolos que se repetem nos ajuda a compreender não apenas a natureza do pensamento utópico, mas também o anseio identificatório que o Brasil atravessa desde sua infância. Sabemos, por exemplo, que o índio constituiu um símbolo

fundamental na tentativa romântica de elaborar uma noção de *brasilidade*. Sem dúvida, ele continua ocupando um papel preponderante nas quatro novelas de que falamos, mas um papel *deslocado*. Se antes o índio era a encarnação da nobreza e da superioridade derivadas de uma concepção de moral européia e cristã, ele agora passa a representar o centro da indeterminação sobre o problema da indentidade. Quem é o índio: o Isaías mestiço de *Maíra* ou o aculturado Ipavu de *Expedição Montaigne*? Ou talvez o macunaímico Calibã de *Utopia Selvagem*? Próximo da origem histórica e do centro imaginário do país, nem por isso o índio torna-se elemento capaz de solucionar o problema identificatório. Afinal, a origem perdeu-se com a intromissão da história colonizadora, a pureza desapareceu com a chegada da serpente civilizatória. O Brasil já não é mais, nem pode voltar a ser indígena. O índio é, agora, uma encruzilhada, uma pergunta sem resposta, uma saudade do começo ao qual é impossível retornar. Em sua mestiçagem e assimilação pela cultura do branco, ele representa aquela indeterminação da identidade, aquilo que não é nem pura natureza nem pura cultura, *nem uma coisa nem outra*.

Por meio desse exemplo, é possível perceber que a sobrevivência de determinadas obsessões simbólicas não significa a manutenção das mesmas respostas ou construções utópicas. A utopia é um produto histórico-cultural que reflete os anseios do *Zeitgeist* em que foi produzida. Compare-se, por exemplo, a utopia moderna da *New Atlantis* de Bacon com o utópico cosmos medieval de Dante na *Divina Comédia*. Desse modo, também *Quarup*, *Maíra*, *Expedição Montaigne* e *Utopia Selvagem* produzem resultados diversos partindo do mesmo conjunto básico de imagens. Nos quinze anos de intervalo que separam o primeiro do último romance, as transformações sociais e econômicas atravessadas pelo Brasil foram de tal monta que já é possível falar de um país diferente, marcado por outras preocupações e por uma complexa dialética entre os mundos da utopia e da distopia.

Dito isso, resta identificar o método de análise. Nosso objetivo é comparar os quatro romances, apontando, por um lado, a manutenção dos vários *tropos retóricos* e figuras e, por outro, a inversão de suas funções simbólicas. Com isso, será possível desenhar um caminho, uma 'evolução,' que deve poder ser identificada em todos os níveis narrativos das obras. Com esse objetivo, parece sensato dividir metodologicamente a exposição em dois planos: o dos personagens em suas odisséias pessoais e o do desenvolvimento seqüencial da trama. Essa divisão contempla os dois eixos básicos da utopia, o espaço e o tempo. De fato, em todos os romances é possível identificar o tema da

viagem, do deslocamento espacial dos personagens, como correlato ao tema do choque entre as temporalidades mítica e histórica em um nível mais amplo. A comparação dos elementos narrativos desses dois planos permitirá mostrar em que pontos específicos se desenha a transformação simbólica responsável pela diferenciação entre os romances.

1. Quarup *e a viagem à utopia futura*

Escrito em 1967, *Quarup* retrata, como romance "pré-revolucionário" (Figueiredo 12), a esperança de reverter a situação política determinada pelo golpe militar. Trata-se de retornar ao passado apenas para aprender com os erros da história, mas o verdadeiro caminho se abre em direção ao futuro, como realização dos objetivos teleológicos da concepção marxista-hegeliana da história. Por essa razão, dentre os quatro romances em pauta, *Quarup* é o menos afetado pela temporalidade mítica. De fato, o principal mito de *Quarup* não é de origem indígena, mas sim ocidental. A utopia que move Nando em sua jornada é a possibilidade de ressuscitar a *República Guarani*. Seu desejo inicial é construir um Brasil igualitário e comunista, justificado pela pureza paradisíaca da cultura indígena sob a direção dos ideais cristãos, seguindo precisamente a imagem utópica que a República Guarani apresenta nas representações históricas do imaginário brasileiro. *Quarup* move-se, portanto, no plano de uma temporalidade essencialmente histórica e ocidental, ainda que fragmentada em momentos diversos: ao lado da referência à empresa utópica do século XVIII, temos a referência a vários outros pontos-chave da modernidade, como a *Comédia de Dante* (séc. XIII), a mística barroca de Santa Teresa d'Avila e os grandes descobrimentos (séc. XVI) e a revolução estética do modernismo francês (séc. XIX).

Exatamente como o Isaías de *Maíra*, Nando é o personagem que mais claramente figura a busca da identidade nacional. Uma busca que se realiza em vários estratos históricos e que agrega um conjunto de símbolos tão vasto e rico como a própria histórica do Ocidente civilizado. Nando é também uma espécie de Dante envolvido em uma odisséia espiritual, aventura ao mesmo tempo do indivíduo e da nação. Com efeito, o romance sugestivamente inicia-se no ossuário do mosteiro. Momento inicial de uma descida tenebrosa que recorda a *selva selvaggia* e *oscura* de Dante. Sua Beatriz é Francisca e sua travessia pelos decadentes *bas fonds* do Rio de Janeiro é a visitação do inferno. No Xingu, tem início o processo de purificação espiritual que corresponde ao Purgatório de Nando, sua "deseducação" por meio do

qual liberta-se das antigas ilusões e prepara-se para a missão futura. O Paraíso é então vislumbrado ao final, com a percepção *epifânica* desencadeada pelo assassinato dos agentes da repressão. Veremos que, assim como Beatriz é para Dante símbolo da pureza espiritual e do ideal cristão, Francisca torna-se para Nando também um símbolo dos ideais com que ele se compromete.

Quarup apresenta um modelo de temporalidade inescapável, que abarca e engloba todos os elementos ali presentes. Temporalidade judaico-cristã, messiânica e marxista, que aponta para o futuro como promessa do fim da história. Daí a tremenda importância do simbolismo cristão em todo o romance, representado principalmente pelo conceito de Ressurreição. Nando é também o 'novo Adão,' figuração crística que morre para que possa renascer transformado em Levindo. Numa imagem quase que alquímica, o ossuário figura a necessidade da morte, do *nigredo*, para a obtenção da matéria purificada. Basta lembrar que a cena inicial do romance contém os quatro elementos fundamentais: o ossuário, Nando, Levindo e o sangue derramado. O sangue de Levindo é a substância que pode trazer vida aos ideais sufocados na história e na figura de Nando, assim como a palavra profética de Ezequiel trazia vida aos esqueletos no vale de ossos secos (Ez. 37, 1-23).

A importância das referências religiosas é explicada pelo próprio Nando, quando este, em um diálogo com Lídia, pergunta: "você sabe que a religião é a memória da espécie? Nós não esquecemos nada. Carregamos tudo conosco, através dos tempos" (117). Elemento que assegura a conexão com o passado, o pensamento religioso também é a via de contato com o futuro. Como Cioran notou certa vez, não existe diferença entre substituir um sistema teológico por uma teleologia como o marxismo.[3] Permanece a essência dos símbolos; permanece a concepção messiânica da história. A história pode conduzir, assim, à redenção utópica, mas também ao Apocalipse. A espera pelo fim da história implica o sentimento apocalíptico, representado pelo desequilibrado André. Veremos que em *Utopia Selvagem*, esse componente apocalíptico adquire nova força e novo conjunto de significações. Se em *Quarup*, André apresenta a destruição de toda história possível, na obra de Darcy Ribeiro, o último capítulo (*Caapinagem*) simboliza uma paradoxal orgia utópico-apocalíptica da qual é possível extrair forças de criação e renovação.

Outra característica fundamental do discurso religioso que pode passar facilmente despercebida em *Quarup* é o simbolismo do nome. No final do romance Nando decide adquirir o nome de Levindo, como figuração de sua nova vida que já se inicia desde o momento do

banquete macunaímico: "[Nando] ia devorar a lembrança de Levindo, devorar Levindo, incorporá-lo, nutrir-se dele" (453). Em outro nível de significação, o banquete em homenagem a Levindo também encerrra o simbolismo da transubstanciação, onde, por meio da hóstia e do vinho, o fiel assimila o corpo de Cristo. Aqui, de fato, reúnem-se duas concepções míticas, uma característica das culturas indígenas - a assimilação antropofágica -, outra típica do mundo bíblico - a mudança de nome que revela um destino. Assim como ocorreu com Jacó, que de "usurpador" passa a Israel, "aquele que luta com Deus," Nando assume o nome daquele que encerra o destino modelar, um nome carregado de força e história, bem diverso de sua enfraquecida e pusilâneme condensação de Fernando. A par desse nome, aprecem os muitos outros que encerram referências bíblicas ou míticas: Francisca, Maria do Egito, Hosana, Lázaro, Senhora do O, Winifred... A busca de Nando é a procura por seu nome e coração verdadeiros, pelo nome e coração do Brasil. No Xingu, ele percebe que o centro geográfico, onde Fontoura crê escutar o batimento do órgão vital da terra, não é o centro real do país. Ali só encontra o imenso formigueiro que, como um buraco negro, devora tudo a seu redor. Ocorre que *o centro real é o centro simbólico*, um centro que aponta para o futuro revolucionário e a redenção do passado sufocado. Na verdade, o centro se localiza geograficamente em diversas partes: o ossuário como *onfalos* (umbigo da Terra), o Rio de Janeiro, como centro cultural em decadência, o Xingu, como centro geográfico, o Agreste como centro da empreitada revolucionária.

É verdade que a utopia de Nando não é a única presente no romance. A título de exemplos, pode-se mencionar pelo menos mais duas, a do Coronel Ibiratinga e a de Ramiro. Para o primeiro, o mal do Brasil é nunca ter sofrido uma real devassa inquisitória, capaz de purificá-lo dos hereges e subversivos. Vale a pena lembrar que a palavra *heresia*, em sua origem, significa *escolha diversa*. No mundo do Coronel Ibiratinga não existe espaço para o *outro*, o diferente. Perdido o trem da história pela Igreja, agora cabe ao exército realizar tal purificação. Verdadeiro monge inquisidor moderno, o Coronel sonha com esse Brasil livre da diferença a ferro e fogo.

Ramiro, por sua vez, localiza sua utopia na França sofisticada e entorpecida do século XIX. O Brasil, diz ele, "é um grande hospital" (102). Como tal, necessita das elegantes medicinas francesas, do ópio revelador que se tornou o deus de toda a geração romântica, de Baudelaire a Rimbaud. No discurso de Ramiro reproduz-se a clássica dialética exposta por Rodó em seu *Ariel*. Perdido entre a selvageria e o pragmatismo do Império Americano e o secular espírito europeu, que direção adotar? Rodó e Ramiro apontam a segunda opção:

> Aí pelas alturas do rag-time, do Charleston e do black-bottom deu-se a melódia. Pegamos andando o bonde do American Way of Life. Viramos uma civilização pingente. Paramos de crescer em nosso corpo latino, pequeno mas elétrico e musculoso, para nos fundirmos até fisicamente com o homem ideal americano, Tarzan. (106)

É verdade que entre Rodó e Ramiro também existe uma grande distância. Se para o primeiro, o ideal é a Europa pura e cristã, para o segundo trata-se de uma França drogada, carnavalizada pelo lança-perfumes. Não surpreende que Ramiro termine louco, envolvido por suas próprias fantasias. Na verdade, é possível apontar algumas analogias interessantes entre Ramiro e Nando. Ambos têm suas utopias dominadas por uma figura feminina. Assim como Francisca é a *Beatrice* de Nando, Sônia é a *Aurélie* de Ramiro. Do mesmo modo como a Francisca se torna posteriormente apenas um símbolo da utopia de Nando, Sônia, com seu desaparecimento no Xingu, torna-se um símbolo de duplo valor: para Ramiro, ela deve ser buscada nessa França delirante, como súmula de todos seus sonhos e fantasias; no que diz respeito à figuração do feminino dentro do romance, Sônia assume, contudo, uma dimensão maior. Ela representa a utopia da libertação dos muitos séculos de falocentrismo impostos à mulher.

A menção a Sônia e Francisca nos dá a oportunidade de analisar o papel que o feminino desempenha não apenas em *Quarup*, mas também nos outros três romances a serem estudados. Em *Maíra* e *Utopia Selvagem* os mitos do feminino, como o mito das Amazonas, parecem desempenhar uma função revolucionária. Trata-se de denunciar o caráter essencialmente falocêntrico já não apenas das culturas ocidentais, como também das culturas ditas 'primitivas.' Sem dúvida, algo que os textos do antropólogo deixam claro desde o primeiro momento é que a opressão do feminino não é atributo exclusivo da civilização branca e cristã. Em *Expedição Montaigne*, o feminino assume instância apenas secundária, representado na figura do espírito de Maria Jaçanã, que atormenta o pajé em suas crises de identidade. Em *Quarup*, contudo, o feminino é de importância vital, mas, como nos dois romances de Darcy Ribeiro, encontra como única via de expressão a sexualidade. Nando, em sua deseducação espiritual, é iniciado e preparado por diversas mulheres. Do amor platônico por Francisca, ele passa à experiência carnal com Winifred, que o aparelha para enfrentar os terrorres da sexualidade selvagem. A lista de experiências que se segue é quase incontável: Vanda, Lídia, a própria Francisca e virtualmente toda a população feminina da colônia de pescadores, quando o ex-padre se torna 'professor de amor.'

Essa sexualidade, ao mesmo tempo fascinante e aterradora, não poderia deixar de associar-se ao sagrado, motivando as referências à poesia mística de Santa Teresa d'Avila e às teses de Leslie sobre o "golpe de estado mariano" do Padre Antonio Vieira (44). A conjunção do sagrado e do sexual irá reaparecer na Alma de *Maíra*, que condicionada dentro dos moldes católicos impostos pelo pai, torna-se mais tarde a *canindejub*, a prostituta estrangeira do povo mairum. Representação que, em *Utopia Selvagem* por sua vez, é retomada por Tivi, a missionária que se transforma na 'diaba de Deus' de Calibã. É interessante observar como tais representações ainda se inserem no simbolismo cristão tradicional da mulher como figura simultaneamente angelical e demoníaca, cuja principal arma é o sexo. A diferença, contudo, é que essa arma passa agora a ser instrumento de libertação do feminino. Assim, o orgasmático, o êxtase se tornam caminhos de redenção numa via feminina que, em *Utopia Selvagem*, alcançam sua dimensão máxima. O caráter machista do imaginário brasileiro é ao mesmo tempo representado e criticado. De certa forma, Sônia também se torna uma "amazona," guerreira que luta pela destruição do poder falocêntrico.

Contudo, algo do simbolismo primitivo sobrevive, especialmente em *Quarup*. Francisca é o principal obstáculo que se interpõe entre Nando e a realização de seu destino revolucionário. A certa altura, Nando define Francisca com o verso dantesco *Quella che imparadisa mia mente* e, em seguida, raciocina: "Uma mente paralisada, isto é, em estado permanente de emparaisamento é também uma mente paralisada para tudo que não seja aquilo que é importante" (232). Neste caso, tudo aquilo que não diz respeito à amada. Desse modo, Francisca faz o tempo cessar num paraíso imaginário que impede Nando de lançar-se à temporalidade futura. Sua paralisia termina apenas após o término de seu processo de deseducação, quando a Francisca real é substituída pela Francisca simbólica. De fato, o último capítulo do livro intitula-se *O Mundo de Francisca*, mas o leitor atento sabe que, em realidade, o que se quer tratar é do *mundo de Levindo*. Daí que algumas páginas antes, o narrador possa expressar os sentimentos do protagonista da seguinte forma: "O mundo de Levindo era aceito por Nando como o mundo, um mundo inteiro, mas construído em torno do parque que era Francisca" (367). Aqui, a Francisca real ainda é o centro do mundo (o parque), mesmo que seja um mundo dominado pela imagem de Levindo. Todavia, nesse mesmo instante já está em andamento o processo deseducatório de Nando, a busca por seu coração autêntico, que o faz sentir "o princípio da diluição da noz de egoísmo que no seu peito era a pequena mas portentosa usina de atrair Francisca" (315). Com o assassinato do cabo Almerim, Nando percebe que não pode

mais sentir o remorso egoísta de um indivíduo que assassina outro homem. Agora, ele age motivado por um propósito comum, por um destino maior que passa não apenas pela necessidade de morrer e renascer, como também pela de matar. A experiência é o coroamento de seu processo deseducatório, ao cabo do qual ele recebe a iluminação final: "E naquelas trevas as duas imagens de Francisca se acercaram uma da outra, coincidiram, de novo uma só. Não mais dentro dele porque a noz dura e voraz que se nutria de Francisca era agora uma passagem livre e diáfana" (494). É então que Nando percebe que o mundo que o cerca, o agreste, o sertão, a brasilidade em busca de uma utopia no devir *eram o mundo de Francisca*. Só existe uma forma de compreender a descoberta final de Nando - "Francisca é apenas o centro de Francisca" (495): aqui, com efeito, *duas Franciscas* estão em jogo; a Francisca real passa a ser *apenas* o centro da Francisca simbólica, que em verdade não é senão outra forma de representar o mundo de Levindo. O espaço geográfico (centro de Francisca, centro do Brasil) deixa então de ser o importante, para dar lugar a uma localização não mais espacial, mas *temporal* - nova utopia que substitui o mito cristão-comunista do passado ideal (a República Guarani) pelo mito igualmente comunista e cristão de uma teleologia social da história. A única sensação de continuidade com o passado é simbolizada pelo "fio de ouro de Francisca," que, "assim mesmo (...) era fiado na trama do mundo a vir," um fio que passa a faiscar "ligeiro entre as patas do cavalo como uma serpente de ouro em relva escura" (495-96). Promessa de um futuro a realizar-se no Nando agora transformado pelo poder do nome de Levindo.

2. Maíra *e o princípio do Fim*

O Isaías de Darcy Ribeiro retoma a figura do sacerdote em crise. Questionando os valores cristãos e ocidentais que constroem sua identidade branca, Isaías ainda tem seu conflito complexificado pela origem índigena. Habitante de dois mundo diversos, Isaías não consegue, em verdade, sentir-se à vontade em nenhum deles. Seu deslocamento essencial é refletido na figura de Alma, que como ele tenta sem sucesso abandonar a herança ocidental para ingressar no mundo indígena. Essa crise de identidades também é tematizada em um aspecto narrativo do romance. *Maíra* é estruturado, em parte, como novela policial. O assassinato de Alma desencadeia a investigação que põe a trama em andamento e lhe confere a estrutura policialesca. Estilo preferido da literatura dita 'pós-moderna,' onde a fragmentação da individualidade é tema constante, a forma policial pode ser traduzida

no sintagma *busca e determinação de uma identidade oculta*. Naturalmente, ao contrário do que se passa no romance policial tradicional, na versão pós-moderna a determinação da identidade torna-se impossível ou, quando acontece, revela-se infrutífera e ilusória. É precisamente o que sucede em *Maíra*. A morte de Alma permanece um mistério, mas simboliza, como o próprio Ribeiro afirmou, a *morte dos deuses* (Apud Figueiredo 14). Não esqueçamos que também os filhos gêmeos de Alma nascem mortos. Esperança frustrada de repetir o mito mairum da criação: "No contato com o mundo da história, o mito perde o vigor e a capacidade renovatória" (Figueiredo 14). De fato, ao contrário do que acontece em *Quarup*, *Maíra* é dominada pela temporalidade mítica, num movimento narrativo circular de avanços e retornos pontuado pela enuciação das lendas indígenas. Contudo, o mito encontra-se ali fragmentado, disperso, impotente. Assim como Isaías não consegue retornar ao passado da sua origem, em *Maíra* o mito se vê sufocado pela história do colonizador. A esfera religiosa, agora representada pela tradição cristã em suas vertentes católica e protestante, irrompe no mundo mítico com violência e autoridade. Prova disso é que todas as narrativas míticas encontram-se englobadas, em um nível superior de complexidade, pelos quatro grandes capítulos da obra, intitulados respectivamente *Antífona*, *Homilia*, *Canon* e *Corpus*. Termos que, na dogmática católica, designam as etapas de uma missa.

A autoridade do discurso religioso parece dobrar-se na autoridade autoral manifesta no subcapítulo *Egosum*. Incluído na seção *Homilia*, momento da missa em que se interpreta alguma passagem da Bíblia, *Egosum* é a contração de *Ego sum qui sum*, tradução latina da célebre frase com que Deus responde à pergunta de Moisés por seu nome: "sou o que sou" (*eyheh asher eyheh*). Afirmação que, na realidade, colabora para ocultar ainda mais a identidade do emitente, assim como o texto oculta a identidade do autor. Desse capítulo deriva também a origem do nome do protagonista, quando o autor, ao referir-se aos profetas barrocos do Aleijadinho, revela: "Entre eles um me fala sem pausa e sem termo. É o da boca queimada pela palavra de Deus: Isaías" (215). Mas o Isaías de *Maíra* é um profeta fracassado. Ele percebe o conflito em que vive, o "meio da Encruzilhada" em que se situa, sem meta ou alvo final (224), porém essa percepção nada tem de redentora. Isaías está inevitavelmente preso às cadeias históricas que corroem toda a possibilidade do mito e do retorno à natureza. "*Preces mea non sunt dignae*," afirma ele sem alimentar nenhuma esperança diante do Deus cristão ou do deus mitológico (225). Como Nando, Isaías desiste do sacerdócio, mas diferentemente de seu predecessor ele não encontra nenhum caminho alternativo de identificação ou salvação. Mesmo entre

a tribo mairum, Isaías permanece como o *tuxaua* encoberto, que nunca chega a revelar-se, contrariando assim a expectativa messiânica do povo.

Paralelamente à odisséia pessoal de Isaías, desenrola-se a história coletiva dos mairuns. Despido de sua potência renovadora pela contaminação logocêntrica do conquistador, o mito mairum já não tem forças para lançar o tempo numa repetição da origem. A história dos mairuns torna-se então uma história de decadência, de desagregação progressiva. A espera apocalíptica invade então o mundo dos índios personificada nas figuras de Bob e de Xisto, que não cessam de meditar sobre o fim dos tempos, "desastre que há-de-vir e já está à vista, inevitável e iminente" (251). Esse sentimento apocalíptico também marca as últimas páginas do romance, quando a narrativa se fragmenta numa multiplicidade de discursos e vozes. No fim, a busca da identidade é definitivamente abandonada como inútil; não é possível saber onde começa ou termina uma voz. Todos os falantes são assimilados num fluxo contínuo que é representação mesmo dessa concepção histórica progressiva e niilista. No fim, resta um falar indígena, perdido em meio à massa logocêntrica do discurso branco. Uma fala perdida e deslocada, que contribui apenas para acentuar a derrocada do mundo mitíco e natural.

É preciso concordar com Vera Figueiredo, quando ela aponta uma diferença essencial entre *Quarup* e *Maíra* (14). Se no primeiro romance ainda existe a esperança de uma saída utópico-revolucionária, no segundo, toda possibilidade utópica é desintegrada, e a identidade nacional se perde num *estar entre* figurado pela inadequação essencial do mestiço. Contudo, *Maíra* é apenas o começo do fim. O livro ainda permite perceber a presença de uma saudade; um desejo de utopia que só não se realiza pela constatação mesma de sua impossibilidade. É apenas em *Utopia Selvagem* que Darcy ingressará de maneira completa num mundo *desutopizado*. Um mundo que se aproxima em muitos pontos daquele construído por Callado em *Expedição Montaigne*, mas também o supera. A última parte deste estudo será, portanto, dedicado a comparar o decidido movimento de *distopia* que se opera nos romances de maturidade de Callado e Ribeiro. A pergunta que, então, caberá fazer é: em meio a essa vasta desconstrução das utopias, ainda é possível encontrar uma resposta para a questão da identidade nacional?

3. Expedição Montaigne *e* Utopia Selvagem*: desconstruir para reiniciar*

Vicentino Beirão, o protagonista de *Expedição Montaigne*, é um personagem tão inverossímil quanto o gaúcho negro Pitu, tenente do exército brasileiro que se encontra prisioneiro de uma tribo de amazonas em *Utopia Selvagem*. Como Nando fora antes uma espécie de segundo Dante, Beirão é por sua vez um segundo Quixote. Levado ao delírio por sua leitura do pensamento liberal francês e pelos ensaios de Montaigne, Beirão decide organizar uma expedição redentora ao centro do país (novamente, o tema da busca do centro). Seu propósito é reunir um exército índio capaz de combater os civilizados e reverter os séculos de história do domínio branco no território brasileiro. Nessa empreitada de revanche pelo *estupro de Iracema* (30), o Sancho Pança de Beirão se torna o igualmente inverossímil Ipavu, índio inteiramente assimilado, cujo único interesse é reaver seu gavião caçador Uiruçu.

O caráter patético da aventura de Beirão é expresso em suas próprias palavras, sem que ele mesmo tenha consciência disso. Quando os dois membros da expedição terminam de atravessar o rio Morená, Beirão percebe que havia esquecido na outra margem o seu precioso busto de Montaigne. Ipavu recusa-se a entrar no rio novamente para buscar o curioso tesouro, e Beirão, usando a famosa sentença de Heráclito, responde: "Ninguém pode se molhar duas vezes no mesmo rio (...) porque da segunda vez é outra água, o rio é outro sempre" (62). O patético na situação é que o objetivo de Beirão é precisamente aquilo que ele enuncia como impossível: retornar à origem, voltar ao passado para recuperar a força primitiva do Brasil anterior à contaminação pelo colonizador. Ipavu, por sua vez, também é patético em sua tentativa de embranquecer-se. Índio perdido entre os prazeres etílicos oferecidos pela civilização e o amor por Uiruçu - único laço com a origem natural -, Ipavu morre tuberculoso em um bote carregado ao sabor da incerta correnteza do rio.

À crise de identidade de Ipavu vem acrescentar-se uma outra ainda mais acentuada: a do pajé Ieropé, que recusa o remédio branco a seus pacientes, mas utiliza-o ele próprio quando se vê em desespero. Numa tentativa de resolver tal crise, Ieropé se fragmenta em dois sujeitos diferentes. Sua salvação surge finalmente quando ele descobre Vicentino Beirão adormecido na gaiola de Ipavu e o toma por Fodestaine (Karl von den Steinen). Num espetáculo ritualístico cujo objetivo é precisamente reverter a história e derrotar Fodestaine, Beirão é queimado vivo pela tribo que, por instantes, recupera o agir coletivo da comunidade. Entretanto, o narrador se apressa em desfazer a magia do único incidente que poderia representar uma salvação utópica, uma *encruzilhada histórica*, em suas palavras:

Seja como for, e atestando, pelo menos nisso, a validade da

> cantilena de Ieropé, o fogo que consumiu Vicentino Beirão podia realmente ter lavrado em dias de antanho, pois ninguém, no Brasil propriamente dito, soube dele, do fogo, ou de que, ou quem, teria sido por ele devorado e desfeito, ontem anteontem ou quando quer que fosse, faltando qualquer menção, registro ou referência, escrita ou de viva voz, ao mesmo. (122)

Sem a presença de um registro, de uma memória, histórica (escrita) ou mítica (oral), o acontecimento perde-se no fluxo incessante do tempo, que não permite nenhuma alternativa ou desvio. Ligada a esse fluxo, está também a canoa que conduz o defunto Ipavu. Aqui, é interessante assinalar a repetição da imagem que Callado utilizou nas linhas finais de *Quarup*. A serpente que o narrador antes desenhava no fagulhar traçado pelas patas do cavalo de Nando agora reaparece na canoa funerária, comparada a "uma escura serpente com topete de garça" (129). A morte de Nando transforma-o em Levindo e provê o material para a equiparação de sua trajetória com a misteriosa serpente dourada. Todavia, a morte de Ipavu e a repetição da imagem se manifestam em um contexto inteiramente diverso. Se em *Quarup*, o fio serpentino representava a conexão com o futuro utópico, em *Expedição Monaigne*, a canoa-serpente conduz um corpo inerte e sem esperança de ressurreição para o Morená, o "moitará dos rios e das almas" (128), mesmo rio a respeito do qual Beirão afirmara ser impossível a repetição da travessia.

Expedição Montaigne anuncia assim o esgotamento das utopias e a impossibilidade de refazer a história. Não é casual o fato de que os simbolismos cristão e marxista estejam completamente ausentes do segundo livro de Callado. O tempo histórico corre inexorável em direção a um futuro que já não permite nenhuma redenção ou ressurreição. Também *Utopia Selvagem* anuncia, já em seu subtítulo a impossibilidade de recuperar o passado: *Saudades da Inocência Perdida: uma Fábula*. No livro de Ribeiro, as utopias, mais que destruídas, são *desconstruídas*, revelando os projetos que se ocultavam por trás de suas estruturas fabulatórias. A história do tenente Pitum já não obedece aos princípios de linearidade narrativa e realismo que caracterizavam os romances anteriores. Situado num plano de experimentação superior, onde fantasia e realidade, história e ficção se mesclam, *Utopia Selvagem* é um microcosmos em estado de entropia.

Os mitos indígenas são também conjugados às fantasias do autor sobre os diversos brasis. No capítulo sobre Próspero, onde se descreve a sociedade perfeita controlada pelo super-computador, o narrador imagina a existência de pelo menos três brasis diferentes: o primeiro é o do tenente Carvalhal (Pitum), marcado pela Guerra Guiana, o

segundo é o das missionárias Uxa e Tivi, caracterizado pelo rodízio semestral das ocupações, e o terceiro - "um enésino Brasil que devemos juntar aos já catalogados" (166) - é precisamente uma combinação dos dois anteriores. Na verdade, poderíamos falar ainda num quarto Brasil, o de Calibã e sua tribo, que em momento algum parece ser afetado por aquilo que ocorre nos outros.

Em meio a esse emaranhado de narrativas, mitos e utopias, a principal simbologia deriva da fábula shakespeareana da *Tempestade.* Simbologia que fora retomada por Rodó em seu *Ariel* e por Roberto Retamar em seu *Calibán*, conhecendo assim vasta fortuna no debate intelectual sobre a identidade latino-americana. No romance de Ribeiro, contudo, a figura de Ariel é substituída pela de seu mestre Próspero, como representante da ordem, do espírito e da civilização. Num eixo de oposições semânticas (ou "sistema binário", como define o próprio autor - 147), temos, portanto, de um lado, Próspero simbolizando a potência da Razão, e, de outro, o compósito Calibã-Imperador Impoluto, máscaras do carnavalesco e das potências da Imaginação. Na "Utopia Burguesa Multinacional" (148) relatada pelo narrador pode-se notar que a atuação de Próspero trai o equilíbrio do sistema. É Próspero quem, em última instância, controla e comanda o fluxo orgiástico oferecido pelo Imperador Impoluto. A Razão tem precedência sobre a Imaginação. Como o narrador deixa bem claro, Próspero é o *golem informático* que, penetrando em todas as esferas da atividade humana, unifica os discursos e racionaliza o agir.

Face a essa abrangente destruição de valores, existiria ainda alguma esperança, alguma proposta de caminho a seguir? O próprio autor parece nos dar indicações do contrário: "não pense o leitor que advogo o retorno à Barbárie (...) O que tenho é uma incurável nostalgia de um mundo que bem podia ser, mas jamais foi e que eu nem sei como seria e se soubesse não diria" (188). Em seguida, ele admite que reformar a sociedade, embora indispensável, é trabalho por demais complicado e - por que não dizê-lo? - virtualmente impossível. É preciso, portanto, desistir das utopias e da busca de um caminho redentor. Entretanto, em meio ao delírio carnavalesco do *apocalipse-utópico* do último capítulo, o antropólogo parece acenar com uma esperança através da retomada do mito derrotado de *Maíra*. Tivi torna-se Micura, aquela que irá parir Mina, futura mãe de Poró, possibilitando assim um retorno do mito. Tivi cumpre ou pelo menos anuncia o cumprimento da tarefa abortada anteriormente pela morte de Alma e sua prole. No festival orgiástico final, Calibã e Tivi se conjugam numa metamorfose animal onde suas identidades tornam-se indistinguíveis. Algumas páginas antes, ao comentar os idílicos sonhos de Calibã com

sua futura filha, é Tivi quem afirma: "Nada é impossível. Esta vida é feita de sonhos. Viver é sonhar" (171). Em seguida, o narrador apresenta a especulação da aldeia sobre como será o mundo após o nascimento de Poró: "Quando Poró nascer (...) outra vez sucederão os milagres (...) Que é que virá agora, pela mão de Poró, enriquecer o mundo, fazer a vida mais gostosa de viver?" (ibid.). Desse modo, a grande brincadeira de Ribeiro possui pelo menos um fundo de seriedade. Não é possível afirmar que o autor esteja plenamente consciente da força contida nessa fantasia final. A voz do narrador anuncia apenas uma saudade *daquilo que podia ter sido, mas não foi.*

Não obstante, o romance apresenta uma outra possibilidade de leitura, não mais utópica certamente, mas ainda capaz de oferecer uma resposta ao problema da identidade nacional.

4. Conclusão: Depois do Apocalipse, o sonho...

Em entrevista concedida à *Revista Nossa América*, em 1993, Antonio Callado oferece uma importante contribuição ao problema da identidade nacional:

> No fundo de nós mesmos, achamos que estávamos aqui, na praia, quando chegou a caravela, ou estávamos na amurada da caravela? Não se trata de termos sangue de índio ou cara de branco, pois, perdoem-me os meus colegas, aquele que escreve tem nas veias tinta e não sangue. *Praia ou caravela são, para nós, uma decisão intelectual.* (32)

No início deste estudo apontamos, por meio da concordância entre as sentenças de Borges e Sergio Buarque de Holanda, a comunidade de um problema que envolve a América Latina como um todo. Agora, aproximamos a afirmativa de Callado de outra sentança borgiana para fechar o ciclo: "porque o ser argentino es una fatalidad y en ese caso lo seremos de cualquier modo, o ser argentino es una mera afectación, una máscara" (1974: 274). Como Callado, Borges situa a questão da identidade no plano de uma decisão. Incapaz de crer em qualquer espécie de essencialidade, Borges só pode manter a segunda opção: ser argentino é colocar uma máscara voluntária. É construir e escolher por si mesmo sua própria identidade. Em lugar de lamentar-se pela ausência de um passado histórico ou de um rosto determinado, a América Latina deve encontrar nesse vazio uma abertura, uma força e um destino que já não são mais possíveis na antiga e esgotada Europa. É essa força que *Utopia Selvagem* aponta, conscientemente ou não, ao desitir das utopias em favor do *sonho* ("Esta vida é feita de sonhos"). Sem uma identidade fixa, o Brasil pode ser muitos Brasis. Em algum

deles devem encontrar-se as energias que permitirão um saudável casamento entre mito e razão. Não, certamente, o mundo do computador Próspero, onde a Razão ainda é autoritária e controladora, mas um outro, onde a convivência das imagens e do *logos* descubra a possibilidade de uma harmonia criadora. A literatura não é o menor espaço de realização possível desse ideal. Afinal, como dizia ainda Borges, "si no abandonamos a ese sueño voluntario que se llama la creación artística, seremos argentinos y seremos, también, buenos o tolerables escritores" (1974: 274).

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NOTAS

[1] É João Cezar de Castro Rocha quem observa o perfeito paralelismo da sentença de Borges com a afirmativa de Sérgio Buarque de Holanda. Cf. Felinto, Erick e Castro Rocha, João C. "Apresentação" a *Imagens de América*. Rio de Janeiro: UERJ, 1994, p. 5.

[2] Para alguns críticos, os países do terceiro mundo e, em especial, os da América Latina são considerados mesmo pós-modernos *avant la lettre*. O pós-modernismo seria uma característica essencial da sensibilidade estética dos países descentralizados.

[3] Cf. Cioran, E, M. *Exercices d'Admiration: essais et portraits*. Paris: Gallimard, 1986.

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Jesuit Proposals for a Regulated Society in a Colonial World: *the Cases of Antonio Ruiz de Montoya and Antonio Vieira.*[1]

Early Modern utopianism fundamentally means the implementation of a regulated society. In classic (i.e. European) utopias, two concepts are crucial: regulation and self-sufficiency. Historically, this utopian political desire for regulation means a severe, indeed inflexible structuring of social roles and duties. It will also mean economically the always delicate construction of autarky, and juridically the double fight for a relative independence from central political powers (the Crown), as well as the negotiable achievement of a legalized exemption (for example, exemption from the tribute or labor payment to settlers or the Crown). To achieve this official exceptionality, the Early Modern construction of the city of equals will have to make claims not to be called literature (or fiction). That is, utopian fictionalization will always be claiming to make its lightness heavier, its diction harsher. Classic utopianism wants to be something other, something more than mere fiction (or literature), precisely by trying to get close to legalism. It will remain, however the sophisticated and minoritarian social force situated in the shadow created by the bigger sister of the repressive or normative culture (or law). It is responding to the crises and hesitations of legalism, that classic utopianism will seize its historical day. And it is mostly to make legalism more effective, that these elite or lettered sectors will be delivering a set of critical alternatives.

Around the political commonplace of the ideal city, European utopianism, or political reformism, in the original years of transatlantic clash between Europe and the Americas, will be giving us the insisting figuration of the island and the agriculture-based *negotium* of six working hours for every islander. By contrast, colonial utopianism, i.e. political reformism *in* the Americas, will have to leave fiction behind, and become quite undistinguishable from legalism. This article specifically addresses the Early Modern Jesuit proposals for a (Latin) American construction of such an alternative regulation and self-sufficiency within the larger inevitable framework of the European colonization of the Americas.

With no feelings for anarchy or randomness, Early Modern reformism finds politically desirable all those social patterns stressing a rather typified construction of social symmetries and predictabilities. Thus, we will have timeliness or synchronism, centralization of social

energies and enclosure. In the exemplary words of James Harrington, "the structuring of commonwealth upon the natural principle of the same is justice." To repudiate social unpredictability, the lettered construction of an alternative social model will have to be historically predicated upon radically non-individual and faceless, nameless features. Looking after the satisfaction of communal need, there is no place for psychologized or personalized deference. In fact, one early historical lesson of this Early Modern utopianism is that need is communal or not at all, and therefore needs are to be treated collectively.

It is desirable to render this classic utopian formulation a little bit more concretely. We may recall More's citizens, all dressed in identical monastic fashion ow white and coarse cloth and with no access to money, following a round-the-clock regimentation of duties, and clockwork patterns of communal eating; and we may also recall Tommaso Campanella's *City of the Sun* (1623), where the great Metaphysical dictator names all citizens according to their most salient physical or psychological feature, and arranges for (re)productive patterns according to astrological observations. And we may also bring to memory and desire the magnificent storehouse and alchemists' paradise in Francis Bacon's *New Atlantis* (1627), which is also a miraculous social laboratory where bird flight imitations, organ transplants and resuscitations are within the realm of the ordinary; and finally also the rather tedious formalization of thirty sections or "orders" in Harrington's *Oceana* (1656), which leave no chance to spontaneity, since "manners that are rooted in men bow the tenderness of a commonwealth coming up by twigs unto their bent." Inside the often neglected Hispanic utopian tradition, we may also produce the anonymous *Sinapia* (second half of the seventeenth century), scrupulously numbering thirty-three normative sections for a social experimentation situated in the austral antipodes of the Iberian peninsula; and we may finally recall a self-appointed disciple of Thomas More in colonial Mexico, Vasco de Quiroga, one of the four main judges (*oidor*) of the *Segunda Audiencia* (1530-1535), who did not hesitate to prescribe a rather repressive thematization for indigenous peoples in his *Rules and Regulations for the Government of the Village-Hospitals* (1535).

This paper intends a critical interrogation of some of these alternative or reformist proposals under an expanding regime, which we may shorthand as the Spanish proto-capitalist colonization of the Americas. I want to focus on the political proposals put forth by the still relative young institution of the Society of Jesus (foundation in 1539), in the historical context of colonial (Latin) America. Specifically, I want to imagine the social tensions in the historical geography of two

vast regions, today's Paraguay, and the region of Maranhão in the northern litoral of Brazil. Inside the massive crises and transformations brought about by Iberian colonization, the Jesuit-sponsored reformism will gather momentum in the still largely uncharted northern region of Maranhão and its backlands, with an indigenous substratum of over 200 Tupi-Guarani indigenous populations, and also in the widespread Guarani communities in the southwest region of the Amazon, penetrated by tentative imperial demarcations between the Spanish and the Portuguese. In these two vast locations, we must add the constant instability factor of the mostly irregular or illegal slave market vis-a-vis the institutionalized the Crown-sponsored *asiento* institution.

We may ask, how was Jesuit reformism predicated?, what did it do in relation to ethnic labor, the main source of wealth in these two regions?, how did it relate to the incipient, yet slow predations of money economy inside a larger barter economy? To answer these questions, we now turn to two complementary repressive textualizations by two Jesuits, the Spanish Antonio Ruiz de Montoya and the Portuguese-Brazilian Antonio Vieira.

Case Study One: Antonio Ruiz de Montoya (Lima 1585-1652) provides in his classic narrative *The Spiritual Conquest* (1639), a testimonial recollection of the preceding forty-odd years of Jesuit intervention in what today is mostly called Paraguay. It was however during Montoya's visit to Spain twenty years before his death that *Spiritual Conquest* was written, together with important philological work such as his *Tesoro de la Lengua Guaraní* (1640) and *Catecismo de la lengua Guaraní* (1640). Read politically, *The Spiritual Conquest* vindicates the Society of Jesus, and its itinerant settlements (missions), as the indispensable frontier institutions for the protection of the interests of the Spanish Crown in the Americas. Ruiz de Montoya constructs an apparently value-free or impartial social position for the Society of Jesus, as though they were ever above the political fray of political interest. Because of this supposed impartiality, the Society of Jesus constitute the "ideal" social agents for the overseas management of state interests. *The Spiritual Conquest* will be insinuating the dangers of not granting complete political control (monopoly) of the Paraguayan-Guarani region to the Jesuits. In Montoya's words, the overseas interests of the absolutist state and the Jesuits are beautifully complementary. It is this concrete, yet implicit commonality of political interests, the Crown and the Jesuits against settler and slave-holder (or *encomendero* and *bandeirante*), which gives the greatest political force to the dialectical explicitness of Spaniards and Indians. Quite far from the ornate monumentality of early Franciscan messianism, such as Motolinía's *Memoriales* (1555), or

Mendieta's *Historia Eclesiástica Indiana* (1596), *The Spiritual Conquest*, has a distinctively hurried and sloppy quality. Our Jesuit does not appear to hesitate to adopt an anxiously pragmatic and deadline-driven ethos, to better respond politically to the early dilemmas of Spanish colonization of Paraguay.[2]

Against the early dissemination of Franciscans, Dominicans and Augustinians in the Viceroyalties of New Spain and Peru, a more targetterd and calculated approach in the colonial periphery by the young Society of Jesus will be needed.[3] In contrast to the more extensive expansionism Franciscans, and their magnificent discursive practices.[4] Mörner speaks of the Jesuit "failures" in Florida and the Atlantic coast farther north in the late 1560s.[5] Historical opportunities for Jesuit growth were no doubt envisaged in the regions far away from these two main colonial centers in the Spanish Empire, and far away from the sugar-producing captancies situated between Pernambuco and Rio de Janeiro in the Portuguese Empire.[6] Despite the standard perception that there was little or no economic attraction, great expectations for a second Potosí in the Plata region had already vanished by 1639, the Rio de la Plata area was nonetheless chosen for Jesuit expansionism in the Americas. So was the still poorly charted northern littoral of Brazil. Wealth was elsewhere: the possesion and preservation of ethnic labor.

Montoya's political position is unambiguous from the start: self-appointed mediation for the Society of Jesus in the thick middle of social contradictions under colonial expansionism. There is a clear repudiation of the uncontrolled rapacity of the *encomienda* system and of the official institution of forced labor ("servicio personal"), which was currently decimating the indigenous communities (40).[7]

This anti-*encomienda* position is however favorable, according to Ruiz de Montoya, to both sides of the fundamental political dialectics of Indians and Spaniards (134).

The political friendliness of this anti-*encomienda* position is however far from self-evident in relation to the larger historical context. It is not at all easy for the contemporary reader to discern concrete socio-economic differences regarding the structuring of labor implemented by the *encomienda* system and the frontier Jesuit enclaves, or *misiones*. In both instances, we are dealing with the colonial institutionalization of land and people allocation under an European, white and Christian supervision. We may perhaps accentuate the latter enclaves as the peripheral modulation of the former *encomienda*, situated in the still poorly charted territory, penetrated by the deeply irregular exchange economy of a money economy looming in the horizon of "permanent war,"[8]

numerous migrations, rebellious indigenous communities and the irregularities proper to the illegal slave market trade (we must remember the perfect legality of slavery, according to the political orthodoxy of the day, in a just war). Detailed accounts of structured ethnic labor inside the Jesuit missions do not, for the most part, exist. And when they do, they mostly come from Jesuit sources.[9]

We must always remind ourselves that the *encomienda* institution of forced labor, also in crisis and growth in the borderzone of former Guarani territory as of 1639, constituted the fundamental pillar of the colonial society and the hegemonic Latin American landscape. In relation to this colonial norm, the Jesuit differentiation appears to be far from being clear-cut or drastic. We should not forget the historical irony that finds the principal *encomendero*, the largest beneficiary of ethnic labor arranged in *mita* (or rotational mine-serving duties), and also of *yanaconaje* (or ethnic-based assemblage of forced labor) in the pinnacle of absolutist power, the Crown.[10] This legalized condition of the *encomienda* institution of forced labor for the periphery, with its historical hesitations, appears to be the historical limit for the para-state institution of the Society of Jesus, which benefitted from a historical proximity to the monopoly-granting powers of the Spanish Crown. Although numbers vary, the human wealth in the Paraguay region was quite considerable.[11] Around this threatened human wealth (or ethnic labor) in these forgotten, yet expanding regions, we must situate one of the fundamental colonial fights for power and desire.

The colonial structuring of human toil for life (or labor) largely occured in a barter economy. By 1639, colonial Paraguay represents a peripheral (S. Van Bath) area of minimum complexity (Elman R. Service), and correspondingly a marginalized area of colonial consolidation.[12] Largely uncharted territories, Paraguay represented the challenging scenario between the incipient colonial culture of sedentary land-owning ("sementeras" implemented by Crown, Jesuits and *encomenderos*), and the itinerant autochthonous desolations and wastelands ("soledades"), runaway slaves and mass migrations constantly threatened by destructive *bandeirante* explorations.

The investigation of the colonial mechanisms of force (or state impositions) must take into account the juxtaposition of tribute and labor. Ruiz de Montoya speaks of the frequent use of the "so-called Paraguayan herb" (40), as standard currency in colonial Paraguay. In theory, every male Indian over 13 years of age, as vassal to the Crown, had to comply with state regulations and pay tribute to the theoretical sole owner of lands and peoples. This led to abuses: "curious persons have made the experiment of weighing an Indian against his load on a

scale: even with many additional pounds on the Indian's side he did not outweigh his heavy load. How many have been left dead beside their loads, the Spaniard less concerned over the poor Indian's death than at having no one to carry the load!" (41). State imposition being non-negotiable, the Spanish-Indian interaction will become unbearably hierarchical around this divide: "Indians" must take the brunt of Spanish expansionism and settlement in the shadow of "money," the historical winner of all social transactions. If forced labor is, together with herb produce, the most typical payment of tribute (or state imposition), the early or foundational condition of colonial settlement in Paraguay meets with a severe underegulation against the constant instability factor of *bandeirante* activity. This historically accented principle of uncertainty informing the early or foundational condition of coloniality in the Paraguay periphery will become a crucial factor to be taken into account by the Spanish Crown and the Jesuits. This historical alliance will be trying to keep this unpredictability under control, but with only partial success.

If we define coloniality as the social condition predicated upon the implicit or explicit use of force, it appears clear that the foundational, unstable stages of coloniality, should the law initially be the horizon for our historical interpetration, breed instability and underegulation which will in all likelihood hit the subalternized indigenous sectors the hardest. If it may appear, but only at first sight that the novelty of standardized wage labor is a way out of coloniality, it will take centuries for the standard formalization of this form of social exchange, today everpresent. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, we must contemplate money substitutions: cloth or linen, but not always.[13] It will also be much later that the final dismantling of *yanaconaje*, and eventually of the *encomienda* system,[14] followed the general tendency of increasing suppleness of the "work unit." "Free" and "freedom," will thus semanticize as non-*yanaconaje* and non-*mita* for temporary hire (i.e. "free wage labor"), among the presumably equal parties involved. During Ruiz de Montoya's lifetime, "free" indigenous populations were incorporated to Spanish expansionism legally as tributary populations to the centralized political structure of the Crown. In this formal sense, the "Indians" theoretically were of the same free status as Spaniards and *mestizos*, yet the brunt of the tribute and accumulated debt to the state was mostly theirs. The so-called free wage labor was more often than not debt peonage for indigenous populations. And there was historically no way out of this living situation predicated upon force. Although it is plausible that miscegenation or *mestizaje* might have helped to ease some of the state burden.[15] It is as

though the majority of living subjects in the Paraguayan region had no option but to get out of the subalternized category of "Indian,"without falling into the legalized precipice of social death (or slavery).

It is conceivable that the tax-exempt segregation of the Jesuit mission life might have helped in this transition from pre-Hispanic "freedom," and through the coloniality of subalternized indigenous forced labor, towards the concrete utopia of the formalization of full-member citizenship and the contractualism of proto-capitalist wage labor inside a pan-Hispanic and transatlantic world.

Yet, it is also clear that it is not so easy for us today to come to terms with the historical trauma of this much later institutional attribution of "freedom" in relation to the individual worker-unit (or "pieza" and "peón jornalero"). It is cutting through the juridical logic of repressive colonial subjectivites, that we must historically imagine a slow, yet irreversible global monetarization process of most social exchanges.[16] As early as 1654 in the distant Maranhão region, Vieira is already talking of these money-fractured "human units" ("peças que se levarem ao sertão para os ditos resgates...," proposal XV). This individuality does not mean, however, that institutional abuse stopped and that "freedom," whatever good this empty category may hold historically, increased.[17] This "ideal" situation of hired and justly paid wage labor, should the abstraction of justice ever be completely contained inside the economic horizon of payment, was not happening for the most part in most of peripheral Paraguay and Maranhão, mostly situated in the shadow of money as the early accounts of Montoya and Vieira tell us. The essential Jesuit call is for the regulation of the all-pervasive irregularity of ethnic labor, which is cutting through social energies to the extreme degree of indigenous decimation. Jesuit reformation of state structures, these mostly complicit with criminality to be sure if only by neglicence, had no choice but to make an intervention into the colonial legalization of ethnic labor.[18]

If the state-sponsored *encomienda* institution interpellated all male individuals over 13 years of age to comply with the satisfaction of tribute every year, the social meaning of this historical interpellation resulted in labor arrangements such as *mita* and *yanaconaje* to satisfy this non-negotiable state imposition. Due to the scarcity of money, Ruiz de Montoya speaks of the individual tribute of five "hollow weights" ("peso hueco" or quite literally, the shadow of money), and its alternative of *one* month's service. In a clear "us v. them" logic, Ruiz de Montoya locates in the same tight knot the "proper" political desire of the Monarch, state officials such as the judge don Francisco de Alfaro, and the close collaboration of the Society of Jesus. Against this histori-

cal *entente cordiale,* our jesuit posits the other side of the *encomenderos* and *bandeirantes,* and both political sectors well upon the structural subordination of the indigenous and majoritarian sectors of the American population. Against all odds, it is the latter group, the "they" of the white settlers, who have it their way by the time *Spiritual Conquest* was written (41-42). The global commonwealth thus turned upside down, Montoya's reformist proposals horn with the apparent impossibility to enforce colonial legislation (there are the two monumental legislative efforts, the *Laws of Burgos* (1512-1513) and the *New Laws* (1542-1543)). Underegulated *encomienda* system —not *encomienda* per se and this inflection is crucial— is the fundamental cause of the internal destructuring of the Crown interests in the American commonwealth.

The Jesuits according to Ruiz de Montoya, are committed to a new enforcement of the colonial legislation and the close supervision of declining indigenous populations for the management and usufruct of the colonial periphery. Never quite raising the voice against the largest corruption of the colonial state, which was historically not perceived as such, *The Spiritual Conquest* is however quite eloquent about targetted state corruption and colonial anomie. For the Jesuits, the Spanish colonization was as inevitable as desirable. Domination (or *imperium*) of the Americas constituted a magnificent historical opportunity, also a monumental task, not to be neglected[19].

The colonial juxtaposition of tribute and forced labor will constitute the main target for Jesuit-implemented reformism. We need more concrete information about this historical fight. Ruiz de Montoya described, for example, how often the Indians ended up with their properties seized by officials and paying double tribute, ten *pesos* and the most likely alternative of two months of personal service. Abuse regarding the structuring of the payment tended to increase and the itinerant quality of the personal service (or *mita*) worsened the situation. Forced labor became debt labor. Ruiz de Montoya's descriptions are quite eloquent as to how sometimes the Indians had to travel for twenty days and sixty leagues and "forced by fear or harsh compulsion," stayed in personal service for "three months or more" instead of the stipulated one month (42). Ruiz de Montoya's writing will be quite eloquent when describing how the most "honest" *encomenderos* —honest, a very thin word— will make the Indians work for six months of the year without any pay, while the less "honest" for ten or twelve months. Besides the double tribute to settlers and the Crown, some Indians found themselves cheated out of the regular wage labor, which already co-existed with forced labor. Instead of the law-standard of a *real* and a half per day, or forty-five per month, these indigenous workers got

paid less while the tribute increased to a new debt. The irregularities in the stipulation of the colonial debt, shot through by the theoretical egalitarianism of "freedom" as vassalage, a generalized barter economy and a looming wage labor, entraped indigenous populations into a permanent state of debt, almost like a slippery fish biting its own tail.[20]

In *Spiritual Conquest*, "freedom" for the majority of the population, an empty category always to be filled historically, theoretically subsumes under the Jesuit proposal for a previously arranged payment among non-hierarchical parties (42). This "freedom" was truly a dream for the many who were still unacquainted with the 'theology' of money in the first place. *Spiritual Conquest* is fundamentally intended as a mediation among dynamic cultural complexes in order to promote the exemplary singularity of European-centered Christian civilization and with no contradiction the interests of the Crown (surely, the taboo names left underexplored by Montoya). In the vicinity of the castle of power and privilege, Ruiz de Montoya is mostly attacking pervasive malfeasance, and his words do not ever go against the official grain. Wanting to change malfeasance into scrupulous sense of duty, Montoya's narrative capitalizes on the main source of state wealth and profit, quite literally the "sweat and blood of the defenseless Indians," to thus construct a Jesuit monopoly in the region. In this *bandeirante*-dominated landscape where 60,000 missionized people had been made prisoners (128), Ruiz de Montoya petitioned the temporary tax-and-labor exemption to all missionized Indians, who must then turn into borderline patrolmen (128). According to Ruiz de Montoya's design, these "Indians" would be fenced off from forced labor on condition of prompt attendance to military service in a frontier location.[21] Peripheral Indians were thus taken "outside" the contractualized social exchange, and segregated inside the construct of a pure ethnicity, which granted them a legal state of theoretical equality, almost undistinguishable from a helplessness which needed supervision (*miserables*). The Jesuit-implemented frontier institution, the missions, thus came to the fore as check-points within the vast Amazon political landscape in order to properly channel the otherwise free-floating social energy, still by 1639 mostly capitalized upon by apparently more penetrating *encomendero* rapacity, and *bandeirante* irregularities.

And yet, it is important to suggest a variation to the outside and inside of missionized life in the Paraguay periphery. There is in all likelihood no clear demarcation between the surrounding criminal exteriority and the presumably orderly mission enclaves. We may imagine instead a poorly charted, still fluctuating borderline economy interpenetrated by institutionalized demands for migrant labor, *mita* and

yanaconaje, illicit slave market and militia duties. In the transient human geography of migrating populations, we may imagine missions as mobile homes. Rather than detached enclaves, these missioned enclaves may only then become more like nodal points of social exchange in the foundational period of marginalized regions such as Paraguay and the Maranhão region. Established in compliance with the dictates of Crown and the Pope's blessings , the prerogatives and monopolies had already been granted as early Nov. 26, 1609, but remained largely inoperative by 1639, Jesuit missions did not take place despite, let alone against the largest official colonial structuring of the new world. It would then be erroneous to characterize Jesuit missions as anti-colonial or even as post-colonial alternatives to the larger social polity reconfigured under colonization. They were rather para-colonial enclaves largely instrumental to the designs of state absolutism (in a perhaps valid musical analogy, we may think of the voice of the *counter*-tenor as not "against" the main melodic voice of the tenor but as a necessary modulation inside the main theme of early Iberian colonization of the Americas).

There is no hesitation to say that Jesuit enclaves, in their relative legal exceptionality (labor exemption), and their relative economic self-sufficiency inside a larger economy of subsistence, also came with their own internal conditions of imposition. It is perfectly possible to envisage Jesuit enclaves as colonial institutions, "colonial" in the double sense of taking place during colonial times and also in the sense of reinforcing coercive situations of social control, other than the largely underregulated state structures in crisis and expansion and the largely underregulated and blatantly savage state of the least "honest" *encomenderos*. And yet this Jesuit desire for the rule of the law, and we must remember that there is only *one* imperial law, appears colonial through and through in that such initiatives, articulated in the imperial languages, came from minority sectors near political privilege. Jesuit diction thus did not, could not fail to produce conditions of impositions, internal to all those missionized populations who where escaping from *mita* impositions and *bandeirante* explorations.[22] For Ruiz de Montoya, for whom *imperium* over the Americas was the right to do, Jesuit intervention consisted in the attenuation of those irregular features of imperial domination which were causing destruction and pain. We may see missions as these buffer zones in the precarious borderlines of imperial growth modelled after secluded seminary life and only incipiently non-competitive or proto-capitalist culture of the land. Montoya's postcard pictures of Jesuit missions and the seemingly bloodless dismantling of authochthonous Amazon cultures largely consti-

tutes the routinized semantic foundation which passes for utopianism in most of the literature on missions even among secular authors (Caraman, Cunninghame, Medina Ruiz, Reiter to name but few). Against the rapacity of *encomenderos* and *bandeirantes*, Montoya's constructs thus a charming *vita beata*:

They all raise food, and each man has his own plot. When past eleven years of age, boys have a plot of their own. Upon these they very cooperatively assist each other. They neither buy nor sell, for they freely and unselfishly help each other in their needs, and show great generosity to people passing through. Accordingly, there is no theft; they live in peace and without quarrels. Throughout the year they hear Mass at daybreak and go to work from church. This holy preparation is very successful. While the sacrament of confession is received from the start, Communion is put off for a number of years, more for some and fewer for others. For while their capacity for learning matters of faith and mechanical arts is well known, the resistance among the older people is considerable. (131)

The goodness of this "garden of Christianity," as Reiter puts it, is unmistakably scrupulous to the Catholic dictum: regulations of bodies and minds in the prohibition of drunkenness (132), the control of reproduction in the prohibition of concubinage (132), the imported European frame of monogamic and indissoluble heterosexual couple arrangement, and the enforcement of chastity, "any lapses against it that may be discovered are met with effective correction and exemplary punishment" (132).[23] Needless to say, the explicit goal of constructing "an excellent civilized commonwealth" (132), coincides with Ruiz de Montoya's ideological position, and by extension of the Society of Jesus.

No taking Ruiz de Montoya at his word, an intent look may soon discover internal hierarchical asymmetries, uneven exercise of duties, severe restrictions, rigorous supervision of abjected peoples, condescension and paternalism. The "inside" (or the presumable social goodness of the isolated commonwealth) and the larger hostile and colonial "outside" are radically part of the same universe that gives conditions of possibility to both shifting sides (like the rotating sides of the same coin tossed high in the air). The large political meaning is of course the historical usufruct and enjoyment of monopolized wealth (ethnic labor). It is only paying attention to the more likely variables and gradations, intensities and conditions of imposition, that the Early Modern colonization of the Americas appears to be the fundamental background, and simultaneously condition of possibility, for mission structures to emerge to social experimentation.[24] It is this historical anomaly, commonly called Jesuit Utopia, situated in the margins of Iberian ex-

pansionism, that I here wish to historically semanticize more concretely in relation to ethnic labor. It is largely the standard champagne celebration of most scholarly accounts that I also wish to water down.

Case Study Two: Antonio Vieira (Lisbon 1608-Salvador, Brazil 1697), Jesuit missionary of African descent,[25] orator, diplomat, and master of classical Portuguese prose played an active role in both Portuguese and Brazilian history. His sermons, letters, and state papers provide a valuable index to the climate of opinion of the Seventeenth-century world.[26] He entered the Jesuit Order in 1623, ordained in 1635 and soon became the most popular and influential preacher in the Portuguese colony. Like Montoya, he was a renowed linguist. He knew Tupí-Guaraní, a number of local Amazon dialects and the Kimbundu language of the black slaves. He did extensive mission work until 1641 in the states of Pará and Maranhão in Brazil. He was sent on a mission to Portugal to congratulate King John IV on his accession. Taking advantage of this trip, he undertook an intense diplomatic work in Europe between 1646-1650. During these years, he secured monopoly for the Jesuits that would protect the Brazilian Indians from enslavement. He returns triumphantly to Brazil in 1655 doing further mission work until 1661. Problems with the Inquisition led to his imprisionment during 1665-1667. On his release, he went to Rome in 1668 to labor for relief of the persecuted Portuguese Jews. He became Provincial of his Order in 1688. He dies in 1697 at the age of 89. Often presented as the Portuguese equivalent to the Spanish Dominican Bartolomé de Las Casas (Alden, Hemming), encyclopedic literature considers him a fighter for the freedom of the Indians, an advanced advocate for racial tolerance,[27] even "a liberal."[28]

On the Portuguese side of empire building, Vieira's proposals provide a consistent historical parallel to his fellow Jesuit Ruiz de Montoya. Both writers, qua members of an international elite institution, had privileged access to negotiations with the Crown. This historical vicinity endows Vieira's epistolary literature with a strong proto-repressive or proto-legal character. The historical alliance turned Vieira's literature into normativity, or legality, well until Jesuit expulsion from Brazil in 1759.[29] Vieira's writing, just as his Jesuit fellow traveller Ruiz de Montoya, is fundamentally aiming at the most effective colonial implementation of state structures. The relatively marginalized northern littoral of Maranhão and Pará lent a potential for Jesuit growth well under the hermetic confines of a Christian civilization and the Portuguese Crown. In the pages which follow, I have selected fragments from two letters to the Portuguese King, João IV dated April 4, 1654 and April 6, 1654 to highlight concrete key aspects of the Jesuit-

implemented political remedies to the largely chaotic state of being for the inmense majority of the indigenous population.

Vieira's epistles want to become normative or prescriptive textuality. The epistolary exchange between Vieira and his King João IV provides us, for all its proto-legalism, with some salient features regarding the diplomatic handling of colonial tensions. Readers are given a dramatic account of the Maranhão region. Vieira's letters represent a direct and strong plea to see immediate results. The Jesuit intellectual is proposing a thorough enclosure of indigenous population around the institutionalization of *aldeias*, the Portuguese equivalent of Spanish reductions (or *reducciones*), and the sole supervision of the Society of Jesus. Conceptualized mainly as frontier posts, these enclaves signal the boundaries beyond which barbarism, the hostile other of Christianity, grows thick and wild still quite distant from the reach of the European-centered imagination.

Already in the manner of an experienced law-giver, Vieira is creating a typology for the social category of Indian: 1) "missionized" Indian, legal vassals to the Crown (Indians "forros" or partially exempted from tribute, 436),[30] presumably "free," yet their laboral duties and movement subjected to a rigid control, 2) "wild Indians" not yet missionized or Indians beyond the boundaries of Christian civilization ("os indios do sertão"), and, 3) legally enslaved Indians ("indios em cordas", or "indios de corda") in a presumably transitional state between the preceding two.[31] The interplay of these Indian categories with the white settlers or first-generation Portuguese population will be supervised by one appointed ecclesiastical order. Referees in the complexities of the colonial game, the complex "reduction," or the incorporation of the majority of the population into theoretical citizenship and jurisdiction (310), apparently needs, according to Vieira, ecclesiastical mediation for its success. Promoted to the status of political advisors inside the mercurial borderline of Maranhão region and the backlands (or *sertão*), ecclesiastical people were supposedly the ideal candidates for the prevention and correction of a standarized abuse due to the systemic lack of law enforcement.

To João IV, the most powerful reader inside the Portuguese Empire to be sure, Vieira is presenting proposals for the betterment of the colonial state. This is a description of the appalling living conditions begging for a strong reform:

> Os indios, que moram em suas aldeias com títulos de livres, são muito mais cativos que os que moram nas casas particulares dos portugueses, só com uma diferença, que cada três anos têm um novo senhor, que é o governador ou

> capitão mor que vem a estas partes, o qual se serve dêles como de seus e os trate como alheios; em que vêm a estar de muito pior condição que os escravos, pois ordinàriamente se ocupam em lavouras de tabaco, que é o mais cruel trabalho de quantos há no Brasil. (311)

"Indian" freedom, granted by imperial structures above the bottom line of slavery, is constructed according to a strict distribution and surveillance of Indians to the Portuguese. Vieira pronounces the *mestizo* population ("mamelucos" or hybrids of Indian and white), the main manufacturers of abuse. Making "their" villages "ours," the Jesuit-mediated state coverage provides safety and protection for "them" and "us" ("us," always inside the personable epistolar format, João IV and Vieira). The already Christianized Indians, automatically protected by the Crown and the Jesuits, will be redistributed to all white settlers every three years to attend to all necessary labor requirements for the colonial establishment. Yet, a structural abuse did not stop here since, given the current lack of law enforcement, even these protected Indians were also routinely abused by governors or military men in the cruelties of tobacco work. Vieira's colonial background is one of barbarian wilderness, irregularities in complying with legislation, illegal slave-raiding explorations and the oppossition of the Portuguese *encomenderos*. Against this, Vieira's proposals to João IV are fundamentally for the segregation of these "Indianized" populations and the manufacturing into fully regulated state property. In this worldview, "vassalage" is "freedom" which is non-negotiable. "Indians" are not called to a plebiscite. Yet, this "freedom" is no free lunch. The nominal good comes with vested interests and concrete conditions of colonial imposition.

In his letter 4 April 1654, Vieira proposes several concrete remedies: prohibition to all state officials (governors, captains and intermediaries) to make use of Indians in the tobacco plantation, except, and this clause is crucial, to fufill service to the Crown ("senão quando fôsse para as fortificações ou outras cousas do serviço de V.M.," 312). The indians are declared "free," and the passive construction is important to Vieira's world view, by taking them out from the wilderness (*sertão*) and sealing them off inside civilization, well under exceptional tax-as-labor exemptions including the compensation of military duties in borderline conflicts (normal state of being in the Amazones by 1654).[32] In so doing, he leaves the reason of state dangerously plastic and empty (the anything, any single thing, of "outras cousas"). Read politically, Vieira's writing is mostly in mapping out the still largely uncharted landscape of the innumerable wealth potential in the

Maranhão backlands ("os indios do sertão ... inumeráveis," 312).[33] The expansionist interests of the absolutist state and the Jesuit interests for their missions thus appear to intersect gracefully in the targetted fluctuating demarcations of Portuquese civilization and barbarism not yet made into a Portuguese possession.

To João IV, Vieira's dishes out a political plan for reform: Christianized "Indians," under Jesuit supervision and thus faithful to the Crown, will be distributted according to measured and reasonable labor impositions, theoretically wage labor, responding to the needs of the Portuguese settlers, situated inside a colonial geography of pacified villages. From an "Indian" viewpoint, if only for a fleeting moment, we must see these proposals as structural conditions of imposition from a Portuguese outside (forced labor, reconfiguration in centralized *aldeia* structures, incipient fracturations of a still primitive money economy, Jesuit supervision over local leaders, intolerant Christian symbology, etc...). According to the orthodox institutional postulate that negates social maturity to the Indians, to which Vieira's letters certainly subscribe, this regulatory goal can only be achieved via ecclesiastical mediation. Vieira's proposals for social reform basically amount to the strict surveillance and control of the Indians in the transition, which will prove slow if not insurmountable, from the wilderness to the villages, from the so-called barbarism of an itinerant slash-and-burn culture with little, if any surplus, to the civilizational arrogance of Christianity jargon of authenticity and colonial settlement around the southern centers of sugar plantation. Similarly to Ruiz de Montoya, Vieira encourages a diligent knowledge of indigenous languages (in today's words, foreign languages), to better suit state interest:

> e houver quantidade de religiosos que aprendam as línguas, e se exercitem neste ministério com verdadeiro zêlo; não há dúvida que, concorrendo a graça divina con esta disposição dos instrumentos humanos, os índios se reduzirão fàcilmente à nossa amizade, abraçarão a fé, viverão como cristaos, e com as novas do bom tratamento dos primeiros trarão êstes apos de si injúria a deus, à fé, à Igreja e a V. M., não fôssem os bárbaros das brenhas, nem outros homens inimigos ou estranhos, senão aqueles memos de quen V. M. confia os sue Estados, e a quem V. M. encomenda primeiro que tudo a conversão das almas, e lhes encarrega os meios dela so pena de caso maior! (313).

This first letter ends with a petition (the "cousa indigna" is a polite euphemism): the abolition of the standarized colonial abuse in the Jesuit enforcement of fiercely regulated regulations, which are always

in semantic agreement with largely inoperative state regulations. The imperial machine is still, no doubt for Vieira, the inexcusable and inevitable form of commonwealth, which was currently failing, but it should not, to deliver the "goods" of undisputed European civilization in the radical singular form, money economy, alphabetic writing, the Portuguese, city-structured communities, sedentary agriculture and Christianity, to a dispersed indigenous heterogeneity which could not, in Vieira's view, produce any goods by themselves. These "outsiders" were not to be left alone. For Vieira, the Portuguese Empire was the sole House of Being, a world increasingly centered around slave-holding sugar-plantations and increasingly, if hierarchically hybrid (Big House and slave quarters, *Casa- Grande* and *Senzala*).The malfunction of this imperial household was to be corrected via Jesuit mediation in the marginalized northern litoral of Brazil.[34] This correction had to come with the granting of exemptions and prerogatives.

The April 6 1654 letter contains an orderly and detailed list of nineteen proposals to thus improve the colonial state of affairs. Vieira's appeal to justice is fundamentally structured around the negative: the prohibition of unregulated traffic of peoples and goods which is considered to be the prime reason for the decimation of the Indians "porque as injustiças que se fazem a esa pobre e miserabilíssima gente não cabem en nenhum papel"(432). Political agents (or governors) and military agents (or captains) are denied jurisdiction over the indigenous populations, except for a case of open conflict or war, almost a permanent state of being, as we have already emphasized, in the 1654 whimsical Maranhão borderline situation.

Vieira's proposals speak of a strict hierarchical distribution of the population: Christianized Indians, today we might translated into "legalized aliens," will be distributed among the Portuguese, "Christian" subsumes the generic national label, according to the internal hierarchy, or "quality" and need of the latter (proposal l). This hierarchical structuring of the territory ("capitania") should be done as follows: one major ("um procurador geral") and several military positions (or captains) will be appointed to the new territories and enjoy a relative independence from the general jurisdiction of governors; in a mediatory position between majors and captains (proposal lll), two ecclesiastical persons will be designated to supervise the incorporation of still illegal Indians and the regulation of Indian labor arrangement.[35] Annually, according to a rotational mechanism, missionized Indians will be distributed to a different settler ("morador"), paying particular attention to the settlers' need ("the neediest among them come first," proposal ll). Annually, there will be tabulation of Indians (proposal

lV). Christianized (or "visaed") indians will be distributed in small urban enclaves (*aldeias*), and these will be kept in small numbers for a more efficient control and supervision. Vieira unifies the prompt service to state interests and the preservation of the life of the indigenous populations. Vieira is proposing a measured mechanism to capitalize on Indian labor: Indian wealth (or Indian labor) will be distributed among white settlers according to the verifiable need of the latter, the assumption being that Indian needs are also presumably better served this way (proposal V).

Vieira's proposals speak of restrictions regarding the traffic of peoples and goods. Theoretically, Maranhão wealth (Indian labor) was thoroughly to be kept under control. Indians could not travel two days outside their assigned villages, nor could they work for more than four months outside their villages (the total maximum of a four-month time unit was divided into two manageable time units, proposal VI). Colonial reformism introduced a consistent structuring of wage labor thus: payment to Indian labor should be centralized in the village strongbox and two keys will be assigned, one to the Major of the village and the other to the two supervisors.[36] A written contract stipulating the satisfaction of the working hours and the appropriate payment should bear public witness (proposal Vll).[37] Although with the internal social hierarchies and contradictions above illustrated, this inflexible Jesuit-implemented regulation of Indian populations strove to take into consideration satisfaction of communal need as pertains to the subaltern sectors: traffic of peoples and goods had to convene every fifteen days, or twice a month, in a pre-established money-free market place.

Zeroing in on a synchronized satisfaction of communal need, the lowest common and human denominator, eating, was thus taken into consideration.[38] Prevention of abuse in the social exchange of goods was to be implemented by the patrolling of the appointed authorities (proposal Vlll). Expeditions into the wilderness ("entradas ao sertão"), had to be exclusively assigned to clergymen or to reliable military men (proposal lX). Because supervision of 'miserable' Indians should had to have a desirable consistency, it should ideally be assigned in monopoly to a religious order. Vieira's predilection, we may guess for whom, was cunningly kept in suspense for a while (proposal X). Enslaved Indians ("índios do corda"), or those Indians made captive, "justly" captived in Vieira's words, were to be the only ones allowed in the expeditions into the wilderness provided they were always supervised by clergymen who had to be well-versed in indigenous languages and good theologians ("bons linguas e bons teólogos," proposal Xll). Indians from the wilderness ("indios do sertão"), once prop-

erly baptized and converted into missionizable Indias (or "indios forros"), were to be distributed *pro rata* among settlers ("moradores do Estado, comencando sempre pelos mais pobres, para que tenham quem os ajude"). This was considered the most idoneous measure for the maintainance and aggrandizement of a colonial state ("conservaçao e aumento do Estado"). Vieira's political vision placed the responsibility for the supervision of the colonial state in the whistle-blowing patrol of the "black robes," and the responsibility for the production of the colonial state on the shoulders of the "white settlers," to use Alden's language. Both social groups, oftentimes in fierce opposition, came to sit, in our proposed Atlas-like analogy, on the broad indigenous shoulders of the majority of population in Maranhão and Pará.

This Early Modern naturalization process was theoretically to be done without use of force against the Indians (proposal Xl). Those in charge of the distribution of indigenous populations were the maximum secular authority (Procurador geral) or the maximum authority of the appointed religious Order (proposal Xlll). A selected unit of white soldiers, called "Advancement of the Faith" ("Propagação da fé"), had always to accompany the exploratory journeys into the wilderness ("jornadas ao sertão"), for the defense of the ecclesiastical persons and appointed Indians (proposal XlV). All transactions (financial, prisoner exchange, etc.), during those explorations were centralized in one military commander (proposal XV). All these exchanges were to be done, and here Vieira's writing thins out to touching a historical impossibility, respecting Indian willingness in a social exchange and their own naturalization process well beyond their means as radically non-equals ("mas isto nao fazendo força ou violencia alguma aos mesmos índios, senao per vontade"). Exceptions to the stipulated respect for the Indians' exercise of free will were only to be made due to exceptional circumstances, and were to be chanelled through proper military personnel (proposal XVl). Exceptional circumstances in marginalized borderline regions are most likely situations as usual. It is the serious consideration of this exceptional normality in a frontier situation which will most likely make "Indian" free will vanish into thin air.

To attend to the increasing availability of labor (*gente de servico*), an inflexible economic restructuring of a few number of Indian villages was deemed advisable (proposal XVll). Village majors elected religious officials (proposal XVlll). Appointed clergymen, because of the assigned referee role in this colonial pool of social energies, were not to have any Indians directly assigned to them for personal labor (neither "free" Indians nor enslaved Indians).[39] Clergymen were not

to have any vested interests in their assigned villages (proposal XIX). Thus numbered the Indians, in the sense of "doutrinados" and "sujeitos," their decimation was to be theoretically arrested in the mutual responsibility of the state and the Jesuits. Vieira concludes the letter by intimating that the ideal monopoly of this mediation and regulation should be given to only one religious order well versed in letters, of the greatest impartiality and tested zealousness in the salvation of souls. Of course, this Jesuit narrative will propose the Society of Jesus (439-40). If it is true that the Indian-settler ("indios-moradores") dialectics is the fundamental internal structuring device by Vieira, it is also true that such dialectial structure crisscrosses with the most fundamental political dialectics of white settlers and black robes (Portuguese settlers and Jesuits), sitting at the King's negotiating table on this Iberian side of the Atlantic.[40]

As Ruiz de Montoya's implicit suggestions for Paraguay, Vieira's 1654 epistle, not quite a legal dictum yet, is fundamentally aiming at the assignment of "proper" locations and duties to all social agents in the marginalized and still largely uncharted Maranhão backlands ("proper"according to the hegemonic colonial dictum of the state). With this Jesuit proposal, surely pleasing to Crown interests, Vieira, an intimate of João IV, included a monopoly clause touching on Indian labor in the truly immense promises of the Amazones region, particularly so after the *Tratado de Límites* (1750). A firm alliance between Portuguese monarchy and the Society of Jesus was established, and both got what they wanted until Jesuit expulsion from Portuguese America in 1759.

To conclude, if Modernity is the historical milieu which displayed a fascination for regulation (or legislation), Early Modern political reformism (or utopianism), largely contained by hegemonic absolutist state structures, proposed a convinced intensification of such regulatory idealism. The historical expansionism of Modernity, or Iberian colonization, emerges from the fractures of this historical regulatory impulse. And colonial reformism, in the shadow of classic utopianism, adds a perhaps surprising and unpleasant twist to European-based utopianism in the formal, when not semantic or political coincidence which fundamentally seeks to consolidate European expansionism in the Americas. Colonial reformism will deliver a strict regimentation of an "indigenized" social polity, sealed-off inside relatively autonomous pockets of royal prerogative.

This essay has been focusing on the Jesuit proposals for the distant colonial regions, the Paraná-Paraguay and the northern littoral of Maranhão in Brazil. My political reading wanted to reinforce the formal coincidence in the political, or semantic alliance of interests be-

tween the Crown and the Society of Jesus against the seemingly victorious white settlers (Spanish and Portuguese).

We have analyzed some salient features of the social regulation of Indian labor under asymmetrical and structurally violent situations of colonization. This analysis has been done via two exemplary Jesuit testimonies, Ruiz de Montoya and Vieira's. Against most scholarship on Jesuit missions, my critical position leans closer to a more secular and critical stance. In this reticent spirit, the invocation of the nominal good (say, "freedom"), has been put together with structural conditions of imposition (ethnic or "Indian" labor). And, always with a wary eye on this conceptual pair, my analysis has been proposing the colonial chaos of underegulation, or an early colonization semanticized around the unenforceable condition of state underegulation, and the Jesuit reformist proposals for self-appointed mediation and a stricter regimentation of a growing and heterogeneous social polity. Our conclusion is that, it is not at all easy to unpack much of a desire for the historical meaning of that Jesuit-manufactured "freedom" for the majority of the indigenous population in our two targetted regions.[41]

We have been looking at some of the historical contradictions implicit in the Jesuit reformist construction of a globalized commonwealth. Inside the largely barter economy of the Amazon region, the incipient predations of money economy and colonial state impositions regarding tax tribute and forced labor, Jesuits proposed themselves for the supervision and control of indigenous populations in the expanding margins of imperial demarcation. To subsidize this supervision, they requested suspension of customary, if underegulated tribute and forced labor for missioned Indians. My historical diagnosis has been that Jesuit reformist structuring of mission enclaves largely operated in the manner of a cog in the imperial wheel. In the colonial margins of imperial expansionism, Jesuit missions were one crucial frontier institution, with privileges concerning tax and labor impositions to the most fragile indigenous social sectors associated with them.

Building bridges, this paper has been remarking on the truly striking similiarity of denunciation of social conflict and enunciation of possible remedies in our two Jesuit case studies. Jesuit reformism, of Portuguese or Spanish origin, crystallizes around the incorporation of foreign peoples, named "Indians," into regulated state property in the chaotic middle of massive slave-raider predations and solid *encomendero* interests. Unlike Alden's conviction, differences among savage *encomenderos* and measured Jesuits are clear, structural differences among measured and reasonable *encomenderos* and Jesuits appear to be less clear.

In agreement with classic utopianism, these Jesuit proposals fundamentally strive for greater supervision and control of peoples and goods, traffic and duties in a particularly sorry picture of the expanding margins of a colonial world. These proposals try to do so by following a model that we might want to call the United Nations politics of neutrality and legality-bound intervention in the midst of permanent state of war (Sempat Assadourian). Indian labor in a pacified region was to become the cornerstone which, if properly kept under control, would help the overseas construction of the absolutist state ("todos são interessados nos índios" as Vieira says).

Following the historical dictum of political decorum, Jesuit proposals were made in the prestigious vehicle of communication, narrative and epistolary exchange in the imperial languages, Portuguese and Spanish. These proposals made the primordial claim of attending to state interest and Crown desire (the untouchable taboo of the "serviço real, serviço de V. M." as in Vieira). Due to this scrupulous observance, Ruiz de Montoya's and Vieira's proposals for social change (the often called "Jesuit utopia"),[42] were welcome inside decision-making power circles, and monopoly was granted, although there were no doubt tensions, backlash and hesitations, until the official expulsion of the Jesuits (1759 and 1767 from Portuguese and Spanish America respectively). It would certainly enrich this preliminary research to be able to demonstrate Jesuit collaboration among Spanish and Portuguese members beyond imperial demarcations and interests. After all, there is only one international Society of Jesus heavily centralized and unambiguously hierarchical, still largely influential in Latin America and elsewhere until today. To reinforce the likelihood of this hypothesis, the proposed figure of speech of the shifting imperial borderline theoretically vanished during the six decades (1580-1640), in which the Crowns of Portugal and Castile were united.[43]

We thus contemplate one colossal imperial construction theoretically unified under the absolutist pinnacle of the Monarchy. Ruiz de Montoya and Vieira amply demonstrate the generalized malfunction, the paradoxical crisis and growth, of this impressive House of transatlantic Being, with respect to the most often non-textualized interests of the indigenous majority of the American population. This indigenous majority, when not kept in the slave quarters, the *senzala*, was most likely to be found in the huts of forced labor, or tightly regimented inside Jesuit enclaves (not to mention the runaway escapades and the threat of the *bandeirante* explorations). Colonization thus posits the impossible challenge to the Early Modern vision of what "human" may mean and the institutional compromise by the absolutist state, and also

by the Jesuits, was a middle-of-the-road compromise in the legalized infantilization of American populations.

The dual aspect of the word mission, enclave and exploration or foray, has been crucial because it highlights the fundamental itinerant constitution of peripheral populations and the precarious nature of population settlement in the initial years of empire establishment in the marginalized Paraguay and Maranhão regions. Surely, the vastness of the topic necessitates of further in-depth and comparative research. And yet, the strong suggestion remains that a state of severe underegulation is most likely not for the benefit of the weakest social sectors. We may add to this previous comment, that a certain *indigenista* program is certainly at work in these early Jesuit proposals while at the same time tinge such "white" claim with the "blood and sweat" of the "Indians." This consideration has taken this work to conclude that the operative regulation in a colonialized world does not quite appear to be an entirely desirable solution, let alone the final solution to colonization. And this is perhaps the historical horizon that the Early Modern period could not transcend. This critique is also including most utopian literature, mostly Europe-centered, addressing the Jesuit utopianism historically situated in the colonization of (Latin) America. Celebrations do not come easy in relation to the larger imaginary landscape of colonial Latin America.

Finally, and this is the desire behind these pages, the interrogation of structural practices of vertical imposition will hopefully give us the necessary understanding for the abolition of such practices of vertical imposition, still well and alive today.[44] If utopianism is the "social good"which is not yet here, not yet there in the past, I am not saying, there is no need to say, that the Indians, as the subalternized majority, are or did "the good," by contradistinction to the Jesuit well-meaning regulation which tried to deliver "the good" inside the larger desolation of Early Modern colonization. More importantly, I would like to suggest, is to highlight that it was the majority of the population in colonial Paraguay and Maranhão which suffered the colonial commotion and massive restructuring of modes of living in the name of the "social good," be this Christianity as the ultimate horizon and social meaning for Montoya and Vieira, civilization, state Crown interest or anything else.

The making and the chaneling of wealth for the benefit of the majority of the population (commonwealth), is the mental horizon that my writing has been trying to circumscribe in relation to the historical slipperiness of utopianism, still very much in the making with us today. In relation to colonial reformism, Jesuit reformism may be said to

be a historical approximation, surely insufficient, to the mercurial slipperiness of utopianism, which could be if only tentatively semanticized as follows: 1) the primordial and radical consideration of social egalitarianism as exposed by the question, "what would a non-hierarchical structuring of say, labor (or ethnic, or sex, or languaje, etc.) look like?;" 2) the abolition of degrading social labelling, the abolition of practices of social degradation; 3)the abolition of toil for life (labor) and the satisfaction of communal need or equal distribution of "goods" to everyone according to need; and, 4) the constant negotiation of in-between states of inflexible regulation and absolute deregulation, the inoperativeness of an ideal legal dictum and the legal loopholes, always with an eye on the production and distribution of "social goods"to all coincidental social agents (whatever these "goods" might be according to the avatars of historical crisis and transformations). And yet, one may wonder out loud whether the "social good" must ever be fittingly situated within the horizon of the law. Early Modern utopianism emphatically answered "yes" to this, and colonial reformism categorically underlined this "positive" answer. In the darker (Latin) American underside of Modernity, we might perhaps today have some growing doubts about this. Should regulation be the ultimate horizon, one might also hesitate a little bit more if the production and usufruct of "the social good" have of necessity to be subsumed under, and exhausted by, the large shadow of money and payment. The outside of history, the "excess" which we may shorthand as "justice," whatever this empty sign may mean, does not appear to be encapsulated so easily.

It appears clear that there is no definite round figure to egalitarianism-as-justice. Yet some of the rigor of the numeral, think of the six working hours for everyone, might just as well be a very good start in the implementation of more egalitarian measures around the toil for communal life. This historical fascination for the measuring rod may be said to be the horizon for the slippery ideal of egalitarianism in classic Early Modern utopianism. Against this precedent, colonial reformism comes into being, it is important to highlight, not without colonial tensions and contradictions. Jesuit reformism intended the construction of orderly pockets of social polity in the imperial margins colonial domination. Such political practice with partial successes and severe limitations is no doubt interpellating our practices today.

In the historical shadow of this utopian egalitarianism, my reading has been proposing the juxtaposition of this utopian desire and the praxis (labor or mode of life) of the majority of the population in Paraguay and Maranhão. In relation to Ruiz de Montoya and Vieira, we have seen how the fundamental social structuring of labor changed.

O'Gorman's Spanish is surely more eloquent, "se está siempre dando de sí en el transcurrir de la historia," just as *yanaconaje*, *mita* and *encomienda* labor massively destructured and restructured indigenous structures for social reproduction. It is only slowly, yet inevitably that we may see the coexistence with abusive wage labor per work-unit ("peças de serviço" already in Vieira), today the hegemonic form for social exchange. The slow and fragmentary introduction of money economy brought no relief to subsequent indigenous generations (as Maeder's work exemplifies), and the figure of the *pongo* may insidiously sneak into any celebratory accounts. It is precisely against this historical figure that some of the fearful symmetry, the patterns of predictability and sameness, the radiant eating of anonymous peoples in public dining halls, or the inflexible clockwork regulation of social duties, which we may find in classic or Early Modern utopias, as well as in the underside modulation of colonial reformism, may be brought, with all its tensions, to memory and desire.

If any single *thing* which we may be tempted to call "social" is inevitably in the middle of crisis and transformations, what would utopian praxis have meant in colonial Paraguay and Maranhão, amid early implementation of imperial structures of domination and Jesuit reformism, if not the effective negatives of no-tribute, no-forced labor, no-*encomienda*, no-*mita*, no-*yanaconaje*, even perhaps no-mission labor? Would consistent wage labor among theoretical equals have exhausted the historical meaning of colonial reformism? And does utopianism effectively "do it" if it remains within the horizon of accurate money payment? Most likely not. It appears to me, but I might be wrong, that it is mainly in the critical analysis of state (i.e. structural and systemic) conditions of force and imposition, and also the neighboring or residual conditions of possibility, that a more acute perception of qualitatively new needs in old and new historical times may thus be said to come into being together with more appropriate responses tending towards the shameless satisfaction of communal need (politics of fulfilment and transfiguration in Seyla Benhabib's words). It is in relation to this Jesuit political "paradise" in colonial Latin America, with all its successes and failures, that we dare ask in the end, what would all of this have to mean for us here and now? And do our privated selves have anything better to offer?

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NOTES

[1] Earlier versions of this article have been presented at the *49 International Congress of Americanists* (Quito, July 7-11, 1997), and also in the 22nd Annual Meeting of *The Society for Utopian Studies* (Memphis, Oct. 16-19, 1997). I wish to acknowledge the numerous responses and comments I received in both of these events. I particularly wish to thank Profs. Walter D. Mignolo, Enrique Dussel, James Kripper-Martínez and Lúcia H. Costigan for their critical suggestions to earlier versions of this work.

I must also include the observations from *Mester* reviewers and editors to the first draft. I finally want to include the names of Marc Couture, Kristin Pesola and Debbera Carson in the editing of this final version. All errors remain my own.

[2] See J.H. Phelan for a panoramic account in *The Millenial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1970). The large contrast still remains valid to me, between the more accusatory and confrontational millenarianism of early Franciscanism in New Spain, and the more compromising attitude of the young Jesuit monasticism expanding in the more distant colonial regions such as Paraguay. It is important to note that there is almost one-hundred years and important geographical and populational differences between *novohispano* Franciscanism and Paraguayan Jesuitism. Some qualifications will be however needed later in relation to Vieira.

[3] See Peter Gerhard for a complete mapping of the overlapping ecclesiastical divisions and relative hegemony of Franciscans in colonial Mexico (the Introduccion to his *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972). See also J.I.Israel's *Race, Class and Politics in Colonial Mexico.1610-1670* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975) for an overall review. For a brief account of Franciscan enterprises and living ethos in the Sixteenth-Century Yucatan peninsula, see chapter 4, "Missionaries" in Inga Clendinnen's *Ambivalent Conquest. Maya and Spaniard in Yucatan, 1517-1570* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987): pp. 45-56. See also "Spanish Interaction in Sixteenth-Century Florida and Hispaniola" by Katleen A. Deagan included in *Cultures in Contact: The Impact of European Contacts on Native American Cultural Institutions a.d. 1000-1800.* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1985)): pp. 281-318.

[4] We have the figure of Fray Diego Valadés, born in the colonial

Mexico, who in Rome will be defending the Franciscan sermonistic invention of figures and images, see the beautiful bi-lingual edition of the *Retórica Cristiana* (Mexico: *Fondo de Cultura Económica*,1989, particularly pages 235-239). The condensation of signification that the allegorical figure entails for more efficient learning processes is also extensively exemplified in this monumental text. The contrast with the selected texts by Montoya and Vieira's epistles cannot be more striking.

[5] See Magnus Mörner in his *The Expulsion of the Jesuits from Latin America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965): pp. 11 & 28-29.

[6] See David Alden, ibidem, p. 72-73.

[7] All quotes refer to the recent English edition, *The Spiritual Conquest Accomplished by the Religious of the Society of Jesus in the Provinces of Paraguay, Paraná, Uruguay and Tape* (St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1993).

[8] Carlos Sempat Assadourian has spoken of the "permanent state of war" in the foundational period of colonization in the specific context of the Viceroyalty of Peru. I find this definition perfectly applicable to our two targetted regions of Paraguay and Maranhão, see "La Gran Vejación y Destruición de la Tierra: Las Guerras de Sucesión y de Conquista en el Derrumbe de la Población Indígena del Perú," in *Transiciones hacia el Sistema Colonial Andino* (Lima: IEP, 1994): pp. 19-62.

[9] Although the bibliography on Jesuit missions is quite extensive, convincing socioeconomic accounts are not so easy to come by. My fundamental source has been Pablo Hernández's *Organización Social de las Doctrinas Guaraníes de la Compañía de Jesús* (Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, Editor, 2 vols., 1913). See also Jaime Cortesão (1969) for letters and yearly briefings by Ruiz de Montoya and Pedro Romero to Diego de Boroa, Father Provincial, for some extra information regarding the situation in the missions and the constant *bandeirante* threat and damage. The recent work by Rafael Carbonell de Masy, S.J. promises to be a fundamental source of reference for the future, *Estrategias de Desarrollo Rural en los Pueblos Guaraníes (1609-1767)* (Barcelona, Antoni Bosch Editores, 1992). I haven't had a chance yet to consult this work, which I am sure, will respond to some of these silences.

[10] In fact, the *encomienda* appears as the very condition of possibility for the implementation of the colonial system in a fundamentally agrarian society radically in the making. See Góngora's *Studies in the Colonial History of Spanish America* (Cambridge, 1975), for a detailed study of the rewards of expedition and conquest

(particularly chapter one). See also Burkholder & Johnson's numbers of encomenderos, about 500 for New Spain and Peru, in *Colonial Latin America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994): p. 109.

[11] Burknolder & Johnson's, ibidem, state that "by 1707, 30 villages and 100,000 Indians" (p. 87).

[12] See Elman R. Service's "Indian-European Relations in Colonial Latin America," *American Anthropologist* (1955/57, num.3, part 1): pp. 411-425; and Bernard Slicher Van Bath's "Economic Diversification in Spanish America around 1600: Centres, Intermediate Zones and Peripheries," in *Jahrbuch fur Geschichte von Staat, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft Lateinamerikas* (1979/16): pp. 53-95.

[13] In payment to the Indians, Susnik speaks of the standard practice of cloth-payment and the official prohibition of payment in form of wine, honey, chicha or coca. She describes the regulated length of the cloth-payment (*pago en lienzo*) and the standard abuses which occured (*El Indio Colonial en el Paraguay* (vol.1), pp. 43-44, 150-152).

[14] Jesuit expulsion from Portuguese America in 1759 and from Spanish America by Carlos lll in 1767. Official abolition of the *encomienda* system by 1770. Suppression of the Jesuit Order by the Pope in 1773. Independence of Paraguay in 1811. Destructuring of Guarani villages, or "táva" communities by official decree of Carlos A. López in 1843: the status of "natural national" is officially attributed to the ethnic notion of Guarani (Susnik, (1)167).

[15] See Susnik's *El Indio Colonial del Paraguay* (vol. 1), p. 31, 47, 51 and 203-204).

[16] See Susnik, ibidem (vol, 1), p. 34.

[17] See Susnik, ibidem (vol. 2), p. 83.

[18] See Susnik, ibidem (vol.1), p. 138.

[19] The comparison with Vasco de Quiroga (1470-1565) in colonial Mexico is revealing of the efforts to reconcile the tensions implicit in the juxtaposition of utopian rules and regulations that attempt a reform of a society and the Christian-inspired legalisms that deemed right the right to conquest, the *Reglas y Ordenanzas para el Gobierno de los Pueblos-Hospitales* (1565), directly inspired by Thomas More's *Utopia* (1516) and the controversial treatise *De Debellandis Indis* (1552), which could be translated as "About the war that must be waged against the Indians." Quiroga's *Real Colegio de San Nicolás de Pátzcuaro* passed to engross Jesuit patrimony. There is a marked contrast between the centralized urbanity of New Spain, more prosperous and quieter, and the unpredictable Paraguayan periphery, "Noticias para la Historia del Antiguo Colegio de San

Nicolás de Michoacán" in *Boletín del Archivo General de la Nación* (Num. 1, Tomo X, México 1939): pp. 24-106.

[20] It is against this early chaotic colonial background that the prophetic suggestion made by classic utopianism for the six working hours for everyone must grip the historical imagination. We may also recall Marx's later description of the horrors of the working day, in *The Marx-Engels Reader* (New York: Norton & Company, 1978): pp. 361-376.

[21] For a theorization of the frontier paradigm, see the comprehensive volume edited by David J. Weber, *Where Cultures Meet: Frontiers in Latin American History* (Wilmington, Delaware: A Scholarly Resources Inc. Imprints, 1994).

[22] It is in this sense that it is important to denaturalize and gain a profound sense of estrangement as regards the internal implementation of mission structures. Say, Hernández's chapter headings: "Concept of Indian," "Family," "The Cabildo Structure," "the constitution of the Vassal," "the Militia," "the Economic regime" (Agriculture, Industry, Comerce, etc... Everything sounds reasonable until we suddently remember that these structures happened in the Amazones! The importation of European molds is welcome by Hernández as "the good" without ever quite putting them side by side with say, the reception by the peoples who were there. It is also important to emphasize that Hernández in the two truly impressive volumes of *Organización Social de las Doctrinas Guaraníes* does not provide his readers with convincing descriptions of mission labor.

[23] About punishments, Hernández speaks of the "rollo" (or flogging post) in the form of the cross in the middle of the village square for public punishment. Some villages also had jail (*Organización Social*, (1)122-124).

[24] It is to the credit of *The New Latin American Mission History* (1995), a recent revisionist volume edited by Langer and Jackson, the juxtaposition of "true belief" to "fanaticism" and the consideration of economic motives that may come, if only at times too close to (structural) "hypocrisy" mostly among those in powerful positions in colonial situations. The notion of"true belief" and "faith"(nominal goodness to some) and greed (bad thing as publicly acknoweldged by most), is put together with Jesuit interests, if only to compensate the profusion of hagiographic accounts about and from Jesuits about Jesuit interventions in colonial times. My analysis is trying to move away from a history of the mentalities (the fundamental consideration of systems of belief, moral(ized) accounts, etc.). By focusing on the category of "ethnic labor" or the "praxis of the majority of the

population," I am trying to get at the socioeconomic conditions of possibility for colonial tensions among several social sectors.

[25] "The grandson of a negroid woman," in Gilberto Freyre's *The Mansions and The Shanties* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986): 244 & 425.

[26] Following upon an earlier appreciation of the weak presence of millenarianism in the Jesuit ethos, mostly in relation to Ruiz de Montoya, it is the right time for some qualifications in relation to Vieira's millenarianism. It's been recently pointed out to me that it is possible to see messianism in Vieira, specifically in *Clavis Perpetrarum* and *Apologia das Coisas Profetizadas* (Lucia Helena Costigan, personal communication). Hemming notes the messianic belief in Vieira's "Sermon of the Missions" or "Sermon of Amazonia," which brought him to conflicts with the Dominican-run Inquistion (*Red Gold* (1978), p. 242). D'Azevedo cites several unmistakable instances of messianism in Vieira's sermons (*Historia de Antonio Vieira*, vol. 2, 24-5, 318, 323 and 329).

[27] There is the biographical account by J. Luzio Azevedo, *Historia de Antonio Vieira* (Lisboa: Livraria Classica Editora de A. M. Teixeira, 1920). See Gilberto Freyre for a comprehensive reading, a bit aged yet characteristic of a period certainly picturesque, of Portuguese colonization in the famous *The Masters and the Slaves*, particularly chapters one and three; and John Hemmings's *Red Gold or The Conquest of the Brazilian Indians* (Papermac,1978), particularly chapters five and fifteen, for more general information of the Jesuit activities and Antonio Vieira. See also Gregory Rabassa for a descriptive and biographical account of Vieira, "Vieira in the Maranhão: Out of Pragmatism, Prophecy," in *Colonial Latin American Review* (Vol. 1, Nos. 1-2, 1992, pp. 175-184).

[28] This latter appellation of "liberal" is to be found in *The Dictionary of Global Culture*, edited by Kwane Anthony Appiah and Henry Louis Gates Jr., (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1997): p. 674.

[29] See Dauril Alden for a thorough account of the Maranhão region and Vieira's early leadership in "Indian Versus Black Slavery in the State of Maranhão During the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," in *Iberian Colonies, New World Societies: Essays in Memory of Charles Gibson*, edited by Garner and Taylor (private printing, second corrected version, 1986): pp. 71-102, and also the essay "Black Robes Versus White Settlers: The Struggle for "Freedom of the Indians" in Colonial Brasil,"included in *Attitudes of Colonial Powers Toward the American Indian* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1969): pp. 19-45. This date of 1759 is taken from Dauril Alden,

"Black Robes versus White Settlers...," p. 38.

[30] All references to *Cartas do Padre António Vieira* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1925), unless otherwise indicated.

[31] Based on labor, Susnik also speaks of the strictly nominal division of the subalternized populations, or "Indians," according to the following categories of reticent or hostile Indian to incorporation into empire structures (or "plebeyo-mitayo"), ethnic labor grouping more or less docile and acculturated ("siervos-originarios-yanaconas"), and a certain original blood privilege delegated to burocratic tasks (or "caciques principales"), (vol. 1), p. 65, ibidem). Very close to slavery (war prisoners with no nominal rights), *yanaconato* or perpetual service ("servidumbre") was in all historical likelihood blood-related service officially granted to either tamed war prisoners or Indians initially hostile or reticent to accommodation to state structural impositions of tribute and labor. The verb "yanaconizar" is very telling of a certain state action (Susnik (vol. 1), pp. 20-23). Susnik's analysis is quite convincing of some of the historical complexities regarding the juxtaposition of labor, ethnicity or race and gender in situations of profound hybridity or *mestizaje*. We may have, for example, the deregulated union of a *yanacona* woman and a *mitayo* man. See also J.I. Israel's work in the Mexican context, for some panoramic comments about "the steady erosion of the 'Indian' republic" and "the paradox of the *mestizo*" (particularly chapters 1-3).

[32] Dauril Alden has spoken of the state as the contradictory "husband in between his wife and his favorite mistress" ("Indian versus Black Slavery...," p. 72); he has also convincingly spoken of how the fight between" black robes" (Jesuits) and white settlers rested on the common ground of the low estimate of the cultural worth of the Amerindians. Necessity to historicize the notion of "freedom" is finally highlighted ("Black Robes versus White Settlers," pp. 39-40).

[33] Hemming speaks of 42 villages and 200,000 Indians in *Red Gold*, p. 324.

[34] See Freyre for the regional differentiation of the two cultures, *The Masters and the Slaves*, pp. 44-48.

[35] Bearing in mind the notion of "cloth-payment" to the Indians, the internal hierarchy in the missions and the official attribution of status (or "cargos") broke open the egalitarian Morean principle of equal dress for everybody that the Jesuits tried, but fail, to implement. The *caciques* will occasionally dress with pieces of 3 ó 4 different colors whereas the "common people" (*los comunes*) re-

ceived unadorned cloth or nothing ("lienzo simple or nothing," Susnik's *El Indio Colonial del Paraguay* (vol.1), p. 28).

[36] In this distinctly Early Modern utopianism, Vasco de Quiroga also mentions in his Rules and Regulations one strongbox with three keyholes located in a safe place: the centralized and communal ownership of the "good" ("la moneda del común" is the historical phrasing) to which the three authorities ("Rector, Principal, Regidor") may have simultaneous access. Yearly and public account of those monetary holdings will occur ("cuenta y razón clara y fiel"). The strict control and communal and centralized regulation of money also appears in Thomas More —the ideal of money circulation outside the enclosed Utopian community— and James Harrington —the *summum bonum* of normative regulations and money tabulation.

[37] Some of Vieira's 1654 remedies are very similar indeed in spirit and formulation to the *Ordenanzas de Hernandarias* as described by Susnik (vol. 1), p. 68 and the 55 articles by the secretary Lastarria during Viceroy Avilés in the late date of 1800 (vol. 2), pp. 63-64). And this formal coincidence may trigger two comments: a) it reinforces the impression that there is really no formal contradiction between state interests and Jesuit interests, b) it introduces the alternative of the velocity with which reformism must adjust to larger imperial dictum, and c) the necessity for colonial reformism, in the shadow of colonization, to intervene into the dictum of the colonial state.

[38] Who can ever forget the splendid vistas into the timely, efficient and clean dining halls in More's island? Enough food to satisfy anybody's hunger, earthenware dishes, glass cups, finely made but inexpensive, most special attention to the elders, intellectual reading by an appointed Utopian, "no evening meal without music, no dessert course is ever scanted, they burn incense and scatter perfume, omiting nothing which will cheer up the diners." The most basic human need —eating— is thus provided for in the same vein that proclaims that the coarser of the woollen thread (for everyone) is precisely the finest: "they do not value fineness of texture." Not an isolated activity, utopian eating is then a radically centralized and communal activity (rather than beggars' banquet truly love feast and agape). In relation to this splendid state-implemented structuring of communal need satisfied, who can ever dream even today of the coevalness of all hunger gone at least for a couple of hours?

[39] Lucio D'Azevedo's biography of Vieira, with important primary material, contradicts this regulation numerous times, the

Jesuits had slaves; see for example Vieira's letter to the Provincial of Maranhão (1680, vol. 2), pp. 67-372. Morner has given us round numbers of the slaves for the Jesuit headquarters of Cordoba, 50-70 black slaves for 40-60 Jesuits, and a total number in the Cordoba vicinity of 150 slaves, in *The Political and Economic Activities of the Jesuits in the La Plata Region* (Stockholm: Ibero-Amerikanska Biblioteket och Institutet, 1953): p. 63, 76-77 and 79.

[40] To give a concrete money form to this negotiation, see Dauril Alden's "God's Share or the King's? Jesuit Opposition to the Payment of Tithes in Colonial Brazil," in *Colonial Latin American Review* (Vol. 1, Nos. 1-2, 1992, pp. 185-200.

[41] Dauril Alden thinks otherwise, see the conclusion to his "Black Robes versus White Settlers...," p. 40.

[42] See Marzal' comprehensive volume, *La Utopía Posible. Indios y Jesuitas en la América Colonial (1549-1767)*(Lima: Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2 vols. 1992).

[43] J.I. Israel, ibidem, p. 67.

[44] See "the interest in naming the subaltern in the interest of class disappearing" in chapter 18, "The New Historicism: Political Commitment and the Postmodern Critic" a conversation with Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak in *The New Historicism* (New York: Routledge, 1989): pp. 277-292; and also the fundamental theorizing of the *principium exclusionis* and the *principium oppressionis* articulated around the *tertium quid* (or the Marxian *pauper ante festum*) in Enrique Dussel's *The Underside of Modernity: Apel, Ricoeur, Rorty, Taylor and the Philosophy of Liberation* (New Jersey: Humanities Press, 1996).

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La historia en dos obras de Rodolfo Usigli, o el juego entre la fantasía y la realidad

En *El gesticulador* y *Corona de sombra*, Rodolfo Usigli presenta su propia visión de la historia en lo que él llama piezas "anti-históricas." Usigli manipula la historia para crear una alternativa a ella. Su versión desafía no sólo la historia "oficial," sino además la idea popular del papel del imperio maximiliano y de la Revolución, indicando que la sociedad mexicana no puede aceptar la realidad histórica. Sus obras representan la historia ficticia y, a la vez, la ficción histórica. Usigli quiere ofrecerle al público una nueva interpretación de la historia aun si tiene que mezclar elementos ficticios con los hechos históricos. Manipula la historia para revelar los problemas sociales y políticos de su propia época. Lo que importa más no es el pasado, sino el presente y, aun más, el futuro de México. Usigli ataca la versión oficial de la historia ofrecida por los historiadores y el gobierno, dándonos su propia perspectiva sobre una realidad marginada. Usigli también contrasta la vida pública de los personajes con su vida privada. Los eventos públicos en los dramas concuerdan con los de la historia "oficial." A los eventos privados les falta una documentación oficial y por eso Usigli destaca la vida privada de los personajes para crear su propia versión de la historia. La presentación del personaje Rubio, por ejemplo, llega a ser una ficción total. César Rubio, Carlota y Maximiliano no tienen éxito en la vida pública porque no saben bien manipularla. A través de la yuxtaposición de los hechos oficiales con los no oficiales, Usigli juega con la veracidad de la historia, haciendo a los espectadores cuestionar la realidad histórica.

Usigli dijo una vez, "El poeta no es el esclavo sino el intérprete del acontecimiento histórico," refiriéndose a su propio afán por ofrecerle a su público los hechos históricos con matices ficticios. Sigue definiendo su propio término de "anti-historia" así:

> No se trata, pues, de alterar los hechos de la historia, sino de alumbrarlos con luz de un sentimiento contemporáneo a nosotros; de interpretarlos en términos humanos, esto es, teatrales, de acuerdo con una sensibilidad no contagiada de partidismos políticos, raciales o ideológicos. (Finch 152)

El admite de Corona de sombra que "he cometido diversas arbitrariedades e incurrido en anacronismos deliberados." Ya que no le interesa escribir versiones dramatizadas de los documentos históricos

ni documentales dramáticos cuya función sería ilustrar e informar, la exactitud literal es irrelevante (Beardsell 164). En esto Usigli sigue la tradición aristotélica que exige que el tema de un drama histórico se enmiende para satisfacer los requisitos de la poética. Usigli utiliza la técnica dramática y la imaginación artística para ajustar hechos literales para que un drama capture la esencia de una situación específica. Beardsell comenta que Usigli tiene un interés en el presente y en el futuro:

> One of the fundamental points to remember when considering Usigli's historical drama is that he was always interested primarily in the present and the future. If he dealt with the past, it was only to show it in perspective and to demonstrate its continuing influence. (164)

La manipulación del pasado es un esfuerzo por parte de Usigli de hacer que el público mexicano piense en su propia realidad de una manera astuta, sin la apatía y la ingenuidad de las generaciones pasadas.

Sus piezas son "anti-históricas" en el sentido de que él se opone no sólo a la versión oficial de la historia sino además a la noción popular de ella. La opinión pública mexicana del reino de los Habsburgo iba en contra de ello porque el reino se vio como una invasión europea en la política nacional de México. Por eso Carlota le dice a Erasmo en el Acto III, Escena II, "Pero decidme, ¿odia México aún a Maximiliano? ¿Odia México aún el amor?" Además en el Acto I, Escena I el Portero le dice a Erasmo: "Usted la odia [a Carlota]—todos los mexicanos la odian. Es natural que la odien." Erasmo le responde que "La historia no odia, amigo; la historia ya ni siquiera juzga. La historia explica." El historiador le explica a Carlota que fue a Bouchout "con la más absurda, con la más descabellada esperanza de encontrar una nueva verdad para la historia de México." Según Beardsell, "Usigli was surely trying to make of Maximilian a figure more heroic, more sympathetic to the Mexican people" (170). Usigli quiere cambiar las opiniones sobre Carlota y Maximiliano porque cree que el reino permitió que México se unificara y que Juárez se salvara de una muerte prematura. Hablando por Erasmo, dice:

> Señora, he tardado en ver las cosas, pero al fin las veo como son. Decid a Maximiliano de Habsburgo que México consumó su independencia en 1867 gracias a él. Que gracias a él, el mundo aprendió una gran lección en México, y que lo respeta, a pesar de su debilidad. Han caído gobiernos desde entonces, señora, y hemos hecho una revolución que aún no termina. Pero también la revolución acabará un día, cuando los mexicanos comprendan lo que significa la muerte de

> Maximiliano. (Acto III, Escena IV)

Erasmo reconoce la importancia del reino de los emperadores a lo largo del drama, algo que no entendió al principio, cuando le dice al Portero:

> Yo soy historiador, amigo. La historia no habla mal de nadie, a menos que se trate de alguien malo. Esta mujer era una ambiciosa, causó la muerte de su esposo y acarreó muchas enormes desgracias. Era orgullosa y mala. (Acto I, Escena I)

Usigli quiere que los espectadores mexicanos pasen por este mismo proceso de aprendizaje para descubrir el papel benéfico de Carlota y Maximiliano.

En cuanto a la noción popular de la Revolucón Mexicana, los ideales se perdieron a la ambición de algunos caudillos fuertes y corruptos y poco a poco ellos ganaron el respeto y la gloria de las masas mexicanas. En *El gesticulador* Usigli nos intenta expresar su crítica de la corrupción e hipocresía políticas por una técnica metateatral en la cual encontramos muchas referencias históricas. Inventa a un héroe de la Revolución Mexicana, o sea el General César Rubio, matado en batalla, que tiene una verosimilitud en cuanto a las figuras y los acontecimientos históricos. Lo contrasta con el personaje del profesor, otro César Rubio que adopta la identidad del general. Al crear este personaje y el de su homónimo el profesor, Usigli logra recordarnos la relación entre la acción política y la integridad (Beardsell 49). La verdad es que en su juventud, Usigli sentía poca empatía por los partidarios de la Revolución. En su artículo "Usigli's Political Drama in Perspective," Peter Beardsell describe la actitud negativa del dramaturgo hacia la Revolución:

> In fact, formative experiences during the tumultuous revolutionary period in Mexico City had caused him to begin his adulthood with a negative view: 'Los jóvenes de mi generación [en 1923] éramos, en mayoría, antirrevolucionarios como románticos...' (TC, III, 283). Indeed, there are ample indications, in a prologue of 1933-35, that Usigli was no advocate of a return to pure Revolutionary principles in order to effect a rapid and thorough transformation of society. He showed little sympathy with or understanding of working class or campesino corporate action, believing that the growth of trade unions threatened the stability of government. And his position on land redistribution looked far from progressive. In his opinion the agrarian content of the Revolution was 'exclusivamente circunstancial y metafísico.' (252)

Su crítica de las tendencias postrevolucionarias disminuyó más tarde. Por lo tanto al escribir *El gesticulador*, Usigli reserva su crítica para la

corrupción e hipocresía que siguieron a la Revolución y no los principios ideales y las personas que trataron de convertirlos en la realidad. Dijo que la pieza es una obra revolucionaria desde que favorece la verdad de la Revolución original y ataca las mentiras y la hipocresía generadas posteriormente por algunos caudillos fuertes y corruptos.

Para que el público mexicano aceptara su versión revisionista de la historia, Usigli tuvo que distinguir entre la historia pública y la historia privada. La historia inventada de los César Rubios es metafórica en el sentido de que sirve para mitificar la historia crónica. Concuerdo con Ramón Layera cuando dice, "Usigli se vale de procedimientos muy similares a los de un historiador, sólo que el 'modo de fabulación' usigliano es de carácter estrictamente metafórico" (53). Es decir, Usigli juega con estas fabulaciones para que veamos que la versión oficial es tan mitificada como aquéllas.

Aunque Usigli utiliza la definición aristotélica de la historia en estas obras, me propongo ofrecer una definición de ella basada en las ideas de Jürgen Habermas en su libro *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*. Habermas arguye que la historia pública, o sea oficial, existe dentro de la esfera pública, un dominio abierto a todos, dominado y sujetado por la opinión de las masas. La formación de la historia pública consiste en la anotación de los acontecimientos abiertos, conocidos por la sociedad. En *Corona de sombra* Usigli juega con esta idea: el historiador Erasmo Ramírez, un personaje ficticio, entrevista a Carlota, un personaje basado en una figura histórica. Ramírez llega a representar la historia institucional. En su libro *La sociedad mexicana en el teatro de Rodolfo Usigli*, Fernando Carlos Vevia Romero destaca los dos papeles temáticos que desempeña Erasmo:

> ...(el historiador mexicano es un doble símbolo o tiene dos roles temáticos según la terminología semiótica: la manera tradicional—es decir: la Que no es del autor—de hacer historia de México. Se dice: 'Carlota era orgullosa y mala;' el segundo rol temático del historiador mexicano es 'Busco la verdad sobre Carlota.' Usigli superpone dos roles temáticos). (134)

Lo que dice Vevia Romeros es interesante porque refleja el proceso contínuo de Usigli de representar las ideas tradicionales sobre la historia y contrastarlas con las modernas. Erasmo quiere saber la verdad para incluirla en la historia pública, pero se da cuenta de que lo que dice Carlota es su propia versión de la historia, a veces contada de manera rara y emocional. Cuando Carlota le pide al Papa que vea a Napoleón para convencerle invadir a México, lo narra así:

> ¿Por qué me miráis así? ¡Ah, ya entiendo! Napoleón os lo ha

> dicho, Eugenia lo contó en el baile. ¡No, no, no! Yo no estoy loca, Santo Padre. Estoy envenenada pero no estoy loca. ¡Os digo que no estoy loca! (Acto II, Escena IV)

Durante la entrevista, Carlota no cree que sea la realidad todo lo que Erasmo le dice:

> CARLOTA: Yo salí de México en 1866. (Trata de calcular.) No puedo. ¿Cuántos años, decidme, cuántos años?
> ERASMO: (Siempre inflexible.) Sesenta y un años, señora.
> CARLOTA: No. Esto es un sueño—un sueño ridículo...
> (Acto III, Escena II)

Para Carlota, la historia es sueño. Su propia historia, y por consiguiente la de México, se revela a través de la conversación que tiene con Erasmo. Este apunta los relatos extraños de Carlota para completar una investigación académica de lo que pasó durante el Imperio. Erasmo cree que los relatos son verdaderos. Hay que recordar que Carlota cuenta los relatos mientras que sufre de la locura. Lo que le cuenta no es fiable a pesar del hecho de que recupera la razón por lapsos breves. Esta escena sugiere la dificultad de dar una versión precisa de la historia incluso por las personas que la han experimentado. También sugiere que la historia escrita por personas que no han tenido experiencia personal con los acontecimientos tampoco es fiable. Usigli nos muestra el proceso de cómo se compone la historia oficial y nos intima que esta información puede ser prejuiciada o falsa.

El tema de la historia como sueño o fantasía se repite en *El gesticulador*, en el cual el profesor César Rubio le relata a un profesor norteamericano, Oliver Bolton, la información pública sobre un general revolucionario del mismo nombre. Bolton quiere saber si está vivo el general Rubio y le pregunta al profesor cómo es que tiene tanta información sobre la desaparición del general y si es, en realidad, el mismo hombre. El profesor Rubio nunca le dice que es el general, pero deja que Bolton piense que sí. Más tarde dice:

> Puede que yo no sea el gran César Rubio. ¿Pero quién eres tú? ¿Quién es cada uno en México? Dondequiera encuentras impostores, impersonadores, simuladores; asesinos disfrazados de héroes, burgueses disfrazados de líderes, ladrones disfrazados de diputados, ministros disfrazados de sabios, caciques disfrazados de demócratas, charlatanes disfrazados de licenciados, demagogos disfrazados de hombres. ¿Quién les pide cuentas? Todos son unos gesticuladores hipócritas [...] Todos usan ideas que no son suyas; todos son como las botellas que se usan en el teatro: con etiqueta de cognac, y rellenas de limonada; otros

> son rábanos o guayabas; un color por fuera y otro por dentro. Es una cosa del país. Está en toda la historia; que tú no conoces. (Acto III, 421)

Rubio "aparece como hombre calculador, habilísimo para no afirmar ni negar, para contestar con preguntas, dejar que los demás afirmen" (Vevia Romero 154). Como profesor de historia, Rubio manipula diferentes versiones del pasado revolucionario: versiones oficiales, de circulación pública, versiones privadas, elementos de la intrahistoria en que se entremezclan el mito y la cotidianeidad (Moraña 1268). César Rubio refleja los historiadores que escriben la crónica oficial. Como él, dan la información que les parece la verdad, dejando que el lector la afirme. Presentan su versión como la correcta, sin incluir las voces oponentes a ella. Usigli crea el personaje de César Rubio como símbolo de la hipocresía de los historiadores que tratan de proyectar "la verdad" a la sociedad aunque no lo sea. Yuxtapone los acontecimientos históricos con la creación dramática para poner en duda exactamente cuál es la historia oficial. La encarnación del general por Rubio no sólo demuestra la realidad histórica, sino que "ficcionaliza la realidad, sobre la base de la existencia de una tipología suprahistórica ... cuya actualización sirve para ordenar el caos del presente" (Moraña 1269). Este juego temporal se ve en las palabras de César Rubio: "Empecé mintiendo, pero me he vuelto verdadero, sin saber cómo, y ahora soy cierto. Ahora conozco mi destino: sé que debo completar el destino de César Rubio" (422). Unas escenas antes le dice a Bolton que "...la historia no es más que un sueño. Los que la hicieron soñaron cosas que no se realizaron; los que la estudian sueñan con cosas pasadas; los que la enseñan ... sueñan que poseen la verdad y que la entregan" (376). Como Carlota, Rubio piensa en la historia como sueño. Usigli utiliza la metáfora de la historia como sueño para enfatizar el aspecto efímero e irreal del pasado.

César Rubio sueña con ser el general Rubio, el cual es el centro del mundo ficticio de César. Usigli mete al general Rubio en un juego de fantasía-realidad. Para que los espectadores se fijen en la verosimilitud entre este personaje ficticio y el contexto histórico, Usigli enlaza al general Rubio con eventos y figuras famosos. Primero, el general Rubio se armó después de las entrevistas Creelman-Díaz el 5 de septiembre de 1908. Segundo, el general hizo comprender a Madero que fue necesaria una revolución. Tercero, tenía cita con Carranza para hablar de sus disensiones con éste (Acto I, 367). Como uno de los primeros líderes que inició una acción militar, Rubio era una inspiración de la campaña pacífica del Club Central Anti-Reeleccionista, como se ejemplifica por Beardsell:

> The fictitious general's image as an ideal man of action, leader, and organizer is enhanced by further description of his involvement in the first battles, his travel thoughout the whole country to whip Madero and various politicians into action, and his preparation of the November expeditions. He is presented as more radical and more positive than the historical figure Madero, whose government he is said to have criticized. Like other Revolutionary generals, he rose against Huerta, but Usigli keeps him at odds with Carranza, Villa, and Zapata in order that his image should not be tarnished by the diverse faults attributed to those leaders by the historians. (46)

Usigli quiere que creamos que los sucesos del general Rubio pudieran ser una posibilidad de la realidad revolucionaria pero nunca alude obviamente a ninguna figura histórica como el paralelo de Rubio.

En su libro *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, Hayden White postula una teoría interpretativa del discurso histórico que analiza la imaginación histórica y reconoce "la proximidad que existe entre los mecanismos de compilación e interpretación del hecho histórico y la creación literaria" (Layera 52). White dice que:

> It is sometimes said that the aim of the historian is to explain the past by 'finding,' 'identifying' or 'uncovering' the 'stories' that lie buried in chronicles; and that the difference between 'history' and 'fiction' resides in the fact that the historian 'finds' his stories, whereas the fiction writer 'invents' his. This conception of the historian's task, how ever, obscures the extent to which 'invention' also plays a part in the historian's operation. (6-7)

White señala algo que Usigli ya sabía y practicaba en sus piezas. Los historiadores son parecidos a Erasmo y César Rubio: aunque nos presentan una versión de la historia, ésta es, al fin y al cabo, una reconstrucción de la historia basada en su perspectiva personal. Layera comenta que Usigli tiene un criterio análogo al del historiador, aunque con un fin estético. Excluye algunos datos, enfatiza otros y subordina otros tantos para ofrecernos una evocación metafórica de la historia de México (53).

Aunque Usigli sí presenta los hechos históricos en sus dramas, es importante notar que la mayoría de las escenas tratan la historia privada o personal de los personajes. Como parte de la esfera privada, prestando otra vez de Habermas, la historia personal no pertenece al dominio de los datos oficiales. Hay dos razones por la cual Usigli se concentra

más en esta perspectiva privada. Primero, y la más importante, es al ofrecerles a los espectadores un lado no conocido públicamente por la sociedad, Usigli tiene más libertad de crear una alternativa a la versión oficial de la historia. El mensaje revisionista proviene de estas historias personales de los personajes, las cuales son en gran parte ficciones usiglianas. En el caso del general César Rubio, Usigli intenta crear un personaje que tenga todas las características de un líder idealista, una persona que tenga, en las palabras de Beardsell, un concepto total de la Revolución (47). Como su homónimo, el profesor Rubio era un pacifista que creía en los mismos ideales. Él, más que cualquier otro personaje, representa la unión de la historia pública con la privada. Para todo el mundo, él es el general Rubio, y ya que apenas tenemos información sobre la vida personal del general, el profesor ocupa su lugar y les ofrece al público la idea del poder de la historia privada. Esta le da ímpetu al profesor a cambiar su vida y de asumir la identidad del general. Lo que no dicen los documentos es quién mató exactamente al general. Entonces el profesor Rubio actúa como si representara la vida personal del general, dándonos detalles de su vida que el público no sabe. Bolton le pregunta:

> Por qué está usted tan íntimamente enterado de estas cosas? César: El asistente ciego me lo dijo todo. Bolton: No...digo todas estas cosas... antes me ha dicho usted detalles desconocidos de la vida de César Rubio que ningún historiador menciona... (Acto I)

Es curioso que el profesor Rubio se muera como se murió el general Rubio, los dos a manos de Navarro. En su artículo "Correspondencias estructurales y semánticas entre *El gesticulador* y *Corona de sombra*," Laura Rosana Scarano comenta que César Rubio conoce los hechos históricos pero los reelabora de acuerdo a las necesidades existenciales propias ("su verdad personal") y colectivas ("la verdad de los ideales revolucionarios"). El presente necesita una modificación del pasado para asegurar un futuro mejor, "por eso el general no muere en la emboscada, sino que escondido tras la máscara de un oscuro profesor de historia, reaparece como un héroe para morir por sus ideales como líder mesiánico" (32). La verdad personal de César Rubio y la verdad colectiva de los ideales revolucionarios llegan a sincretizarse cuando el profesor, y por consiguiente el general que encarna, mueren al final del drama. Su muerte deja escapar el espíritu verdadero de los hechos históricos.

En el caso de Carlota y Maximiliano, se ve la historia pública por los ojos de Carlota y se aprende que su vida, como la de cualquier persona, tiene momentos a veces difíciles, a veces felices. Cuando le

cuenta a Erasmo el romance entre ella y Maximiliano, tenemos una descripción de ella excluida de los textos oficiales:

> CARLOTA: Ven aquí, Max. (El se acerca al trono. Ella le toma las manos.) Esta crisis pasar pronto, y cuando haya pasado nos reuniremos otra vez como antes, como lo que éramos.
>
> MAXIMILIANO: (Con una apagada sonrisa.) ¿Una cita en el bosque mientras el Imperio arde?
>
> CARLOTA: Eso es, Max. Una cita en el bosque, dentro de muy poco tiempo. Ahora hay que luchar, eso es todo—y hay que desconfiar—y hay que matar. (Acto II, Escena II)

Usigli describe el matrimonio de los emperadores de modo romántico cuando de verdad los dos tenían problemas matrimoniales. Sin embargo por esta versión romántica los espectadores ven un lado menos severo de Carlota, principalmente, y de Maximiliano. Esta vida personal creada por Usigli representa su esfuerzo de hacer que el público crea lo que él cree: que Carlota y Maximiliano no eran personas totalmente malas y que el Imperio tenía buenos aspectos, incluso una visión unificadora y progresista para todo México.

Además de dejarlo revisar la historia oficial más fácilmente, estas invenciones de la historia privada de los personajes les dio a Usigli la oportunidad de indicarnos que lo que sucede en sus dramas al nivel ficticio es lo que pudiera ser la verdad. De estos sucesos privados nadie sabe nada y por eso Usigli ofrece una posibilidad que explica claramente en sus "Prólogos" que no es la verdad como se escribe en los documentos, pero nos deja pensar en la imposibilidad de saber la verdad absoluta, si existe.

La tercera razón por la utilización usigliana de la historia privada es muy pragmática en términos teatrales. Usigli intenta formar una empatía entre, por un lado, los Rubios y los Habsburgo, y por otro lado, los espectadores. En palabras de Beardsell, "What happens on stage must be accepted as a reality in which the audience can see itself" (45). El público mexicano que veía las piezas era más que nada burgués y Usigli sabía que obtendría más resultados si pusiera escenas en las cuales los espectadores se reflejaran. Por lo tanto Carlota se presenta como una persona romántica, ambiciosa y fuerte pero con problemas. El público se da cuenta de que la princesa real ha caído de su trono de manera asombrosa. Cuando Erasmo llega a entrevistarla, se ve Carlota así:

> ¡Tan oscuro, tan oscuro!
> ¡Luces!...
> ¡Luces!...

(Leyendo) Historia de México.
(Repite muy bajo)
México...México...
(De pronto se lleva la mano a la boca con un gesto de horror. Sus ojos se dilatan. Hace un terrible esfuerzo, echando la cabeza hacia atrás. Al fin puede articular y lanza un grito horrendo desgarrado.)
¡Max!
(Se tambalea y, falta de apoyo, cae...). (Acto I, Escena I)

Ella se ha vuelto una persona caduca sin ningún poder político. Está sola con sus recuerdos horribles de México.

Los Rubios tienen la misma función que Carlota: reflejan las características, deseos y fallas del público que ve el drama. Usigli hace más complicada esta trama en el sentido de que requiere dos personajes para hacer lo que hace el papel de Carlota. Se necesita un héroe de la Revolución que representa los ideales, pero este héroe tiene que morir para llegar a ser icono revolucionario, y por eso Usigli usa otro personaje, o sea el profesor Rubio, para hacer el papel del burgués desilusionado que asume la identidad del general y así se muere mitificado. En sus comentarios sobre la sociedad tradicional versus moderna en el drama, Mabel Moraña dice que la experiencia del personaje en el medio universitario capitalino "lo relaciona a un ambiente de clase media sujeto a los valores de la cultura urbana que se traducen en el afán consumista, el apego a las apariencias y la esperanza del ascenso social y económico" (1267). Con esto el público sí se puede relacionar, y era esta capacidad artística que ganó Usigli el respeto del mundo teatral. Así que los espectadores sienten que son parte de la historia por la conexión teatral de ella.

Usigli maneja de manera experta el recontar de la historia. Nos hace sentir que la línea entre la realidad y la fantasía se borra para dejarnos preguntar en qué consiste exactamente la historia verdadera. Nos ofrece una versión revisionista de la crónica oficial en sus dos dramas al detallar los acontecimientos que forman parte del registro histórico y los momentos privados que él inventa para convencernos de la importancia de la historia no oficial. Al contrastar estas escenas de la historia privada de los personajes con las de la historia pública, Usigli juega con la idea de cuán difícil es concretizar la veracidad de los acontecimientos pasados. En *El gesticulador*, hace sentir al público que él tiene razón al intimar que los ideales originales y no las acciones posteriores a la Revolución Mexicana eran la mejor solución para México. Usigli no clarifica si el profesor César Rubio es un impostor del héroe de la Revolución, General Rubio, o no. Tampoco clarifica si

es la reencarnación de él. Rubio representa, por un lado, el burgués ambicioso que desea subir la escala social y, por otro lado, un hombre ideal que quiere ser líder político para resolver los problemas que existen. En *Corona de sombra*, Usigli pretende decirnos que Carlota y Maximiliano, por su presencia unificadora, ayudaron a México. Los retrata a los dos de modo compasivo con la intención de convencer al público que es lo que México necesitaba. Claro está que la versión oficial sobre Carlota y Maximiliano no concuerda con la versión dramática. La interpretación usigliana de la historia rechaza la versión "oficial" y las nociones populares de la historia. Para Usigli, la realidad histórica no consiste en puros hechos, sino en una mezcla de datos oficiales, memorias lejanas y rumores imprecisos. La historia para él es tanto realidad como juego y fantasía.

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"¿Dónde están las mujeres?":

Una escritora cubana habla del estado del feminismo y de la producción cultural de las mujeres en la sociedad revolucionaria.

Mirta Yáñez (1947), doctora en letras de la Universidad de La Habana y profesora de literatura latinoamericana del siglo XIX, también es destacada narradora. Ganó el premio del concurso «13 de marzo» en 1970 con el cuaderno de poemas *Las visitas*, y después otros dos premios por sus cuentos de *Todos los negros tomamos café* (1976) y su novela para niños, *Serafín y su aventura con los caballitos* (1980). También ha publicado una novela *La hora de los mameyes* (1984), otra colección de cuentos, *El diablo son las cosas* (1988) y un estudio crítico, *La narrativa romántica en Latinoamérica* (1990). Ultimamente, se dedica al trabajo feminista de la recuperación y reconocimiento de la mujer en la historiografía de la literatura cubana. La realización de su último empeño, la primera antología de cuentistas cubanas—*Las estatuas de sal: cuentistas cubanas contemporáneas, panorama crítico (1959-1995)* (1996) y el estado de la escritora cubana desde la Revolución del '59 conformaron los temas que tratamos una mañana de junio '97 en La Habana.

La antología, agotada rápidamente la primera edición, se encuentra al hurgar entre los estantes de los coleccionistas de libros que proliferan los mercados y las plazas de La Habana. Destaca cuarenta y tres cuentistas, dentro y fuera de Cuba, divididas en "Antepasadas y...todavía vivas" y "Cuentistas cubanas contemporáneas." Abarca, cronológicamente, desde la Condesa de Merlín (1789) hasta Ena Lucía Portela (1972). Además, incluye el trabajo académico feminista de las más reconocidas del campo en este momento: "La mujer en la narrativa de la Revolución: ponencia sobre una carencia," de Luisa Campuzano, y "La escritura femenina y la crítica feminista en el Caribe: otro espacio de la identidad," de Nara Araújo. En la introducción, "Y la mujer de Lot miró...," de la misma Yáñez, convergen su conciencia del género, su oficio de narradora y su conocimiento abarcador de la literatura cubana e hispanoamericana, para informar y entretener a cualquiera que, como la mujer de Lot, se atreva a mirar.

BR: *Un estudio preliminar sobre la narrativa escrita por mujeres después del '59 revela una marcada ausencia de textos publicados por mujeres en los primeros años, "el quinquenio de oro" de la Revolución. En su opinión, ¿A qué se debe?*

MY: En los primeros años de la Revolución hubo muchos problemas ideológicos entre las tendencias literarias, especialmente la narrativa. Se generó en aquel entonces un enfoque del tema de la violencia—lo que *ellos* llaman de la violencia. A mí no me gusta este término porque al usarlo se implica todo lo que envolvía las circunstancias sociales. Para decirlo de otra manera, fue un realismo directo. Se censuró, incluso se eliminaban, las antologías donde había un realismo que no fuera directo. En eso no solamente cayeron las mujeres sino también otros hombres que escribieron otro tipo de literatura: de ficción, del humor negro, etc. Todo eso se quedó marginado, se conocía pero no se publicaba. Hubo una antología de lo fantástico en la narrativa cubana que fue la primera en donde María Elena Llana (1936) publicó un cuento que es el cuento que yo selecciono para mi antología. Pero la balanza se inclinó a ese realismo tajante, directo, que a algunos les salió bien y a otros les salió muy mal. Le salió bien, por ejemplo, a Heras que era un buen narrador. Pero a otros les salió muy mal—por poco plagiaron a Heras o tipiaron a Heras.

El triunfo de la Revolución fue una época muy machista. Por ejemplo, en las revistas el *Caimán Barbudo*, *Lunes de la Revolución*, ¿dónde están las mujeres? En *Orígenes*, estaba Fina García Marruz, pero como a la sombra de Cintio [de su esposo Cintio Vitier] cuando es una de las grandes poetisas cubanas. Ellas corrieron el mismo destino que nosotras que empezábamos en esa época, es decir, la marginalidad. A tal punto que la gran marginada fue Dulce María Loynaz. Tuvieron que pasar 25 años para que fuera reconocida. Las del pasado se quedaron perfectamente olvidadas durante años, como la Condesa de Merlín. Muchas se fueron del país como, Ana María Simó. Algunas, como Dora Alonso llegaron a ser una personalidad en la literatura para niños, que era el terreno permitido para las escritora. Otras, muchas veces, optaron por el periodismo.

Pero hubo un tiempo en que todo eso fue cambiando—volvió a resurgir el otro imaginario, el otro tipo de ficción—pero se habían ido ya muchas escritoras y escritores de la isla. Yo creo que es justo decir que esta selección temática de los primeros 10 años de alguna manera impactó editorialmente a la mujer porque ninguna de nosotras había participado en la guerra, ninguna todavía había tirado tiros, ninguna de nosotras había capturado a ningún bandido. Por lo tanto nadie podría escribir de eso.

Pero sí se podría escribir sobre el segundo tema generacional, el tema de la recogida de café, de la brigada de alfabetización y es allí donde sube, donde subo yo, entre otras escritoras. Se introducía la cuestión ética, la problematización de la realidad y allí empezamos a

hacer un nombre.

BR: *Entonces ud. diría que la misma temática de la Revolución marginó a la mujer en el campo de la literatura. ¿Tenía libros escritos en esa época que nunca llegaron a la prensa?*

MY: A mí me han negado otras cosas, de alguna manera—la promoción, el acceso a los jurados, viajar—pero publicar no, ya que me había ganado un premio me tenían que publicar. Claro, con más limitación—una nota en una antología, por ejemplo. Es una marginalidad muy especial, no hay un *de hecho* contra uno, es que se olvidan de la mujer, el eterno olvido. Pero cuando se enfrentan con las cosas, sí nos publican.

BR: *Sin embargo, de acuerdo al discurso oficial de la Revolución socialista, uno de sus grandes logros es la plena integración de la mujer.*

MY: Como otras cosas dentro de Cuba, inocentemente o a veces no tan inocentemente hay dos discursos, dos situaciones paralelas, dos mundos que aparentemente se contradicen y al mismo tiempo se van complementando. Yo creo que esto es lo ocurrido con la mujer: no solamente dos discursos, sino dos realidades. Uno, en donde la mujer es aceptada, tiene poder, leyes que la respaldan y participación. Paralelamente, hay un discurso anacrónico donde la mujer está subordinada, no tiene ningún poder, donde no es elegible, donde al menor inconveniente es la primera que sale, donde tiene que ser la mejor para poder estar donde están un montón de mediocres hombres. Decir que sólo hay uno de los dos sería injusto. Creo que hay gente que no quiere ver que nos siguen marginando, que sólo hablan de las no sé cuántas médicos o mujeres que hay en el comité central, de que las campesinas saben leer. Efectivamente, todo eso es una gran verdad. Pero al mismo tiempo hay otro grupo que nada más ve la marginación, el olvido, que llevamos el sobrepeso de esta sociedad; yo creo que existen las dos cosas. Y este "doble mundo" no sólo pasa cuando hablamos de las mujeres; pasa en la literatura, en la economía, con la vida común. Es decir, van paralelamente estos dos mundos. Quizás es por eso que la gente honesta, que trata de encontrar alguna lógica a lo que está sucediendo ahora en la isla, se pierde en esta dualidad de verdades que es la Revolución, sea por razones de nuestra incapacidad, del bloqueo, la idiosincrasia del cubano... En fin, las mujeres salen a un campo que es el científico. Es el más objetivo y allí ella es la más destacada, pero en la literatura, como es más subjetiva, es más olvidada.

No se puede culpar del todo a las autoridades culturales que no tenemos poder. Bueno, hasta un tiempo atrás no se pueden disculpar, pero se han ido abriendo espacios. Hay revistas literarias que las dirigen las mujeres, hay puestos claves en la cultura, sobre todo en la Casa de las Américas, que los tienen mujeres, pues estaba allí Haydeé Santamaría. Por ejemplo, el hecho de haber sido capaces de poner a Marilyn Bobes a dirigir la UNEAC es un gran logro. Ahora, ella no pudo. ¿Por qué no pudo? Porque justamente todavía el ambiente masculino allí, del "pene club," es muy fuerte (este chiste es mío y me lo ha robado Zoé Valdés—como en Estados Unidos hay un "pen club," pues aquí tenemos el "pene club"). Pero aunque Marilyn no pudo, con ella se dio la oportunidad.

Entonces, en la cultura ha habido algunas posibilidades de ejercer ciertos poderes, todavía muy limitadas. Y éste es el doble discurso. No es limitado por ninguna ley, no es limitado por ningún decreto, simplemente que no contamos. Entre los hombres había cierto grado de solidaridad ancestral, digamos, y entre las mujeres, tenemos "la cabeza en la haba" todavía. Así que es falta de solidaridad.

BR: *Como apunta Margaret Randall, en* Gathering Rage: The Failure of Twentieth Century Revolutions to Develop a Feminist Agenda (1992) *la Revolución cubana nunca abrió un espacio a una conciencia feminista...*

MY: Sí. Hasta hace muy poco tiempo tenían mucho miedo a esto; la palabra feminista era impensable. Quizás hubo un progreso a finales de los años 80, pero ahora otra vez con las restricciones que se están viendo en estos últimos momentos creo que ha habido un paso para atrás, bastante obvio y evidente para todo el mundo. Pero en el breve tiempo que hubo una apertura, empezaron a hablar de la conciencia de género. Se formó, por ejemplo, el programa de cursos de Luisa Campuzano en la Casa de las Américas, que son *de* y *para* la mujer. Hay una aparente aceptación de los estudios del género y del feminismo, pero como esto contradice o crea problemas no avanza, no hay un progreso. Tomemos, por ejemplo, el grupo Magín: un grupo de mujeres del campo de las comunicaciones que lograron poner una publicación, pero por razones que desconozco la FMC (La Federación de Mujeres Cubanas) se les opuso. A tal punto que ellas no pudieron ir a Beijing aunque tenían el dinero. Después les quitaron el lugar donde reunirse, hasta que se disolvieron. Sólo sé que existió, que eran unas mujeres de empuje y con mucho criterio revolucionario y realmente es muy triste que el grupo haya desaparecido. No desaparecen otras cosas

que son peores.

BR: *Al nivel personal, como narradora, ¿cómo evoluciona su obra?*

MY: La preocupación mía es una preocupación de las cosas pequeñas de la vida, la ética cotidiana, el conflicto del hombre en su pequeño mundito, eso es lo que me interesa. Yo no tenía ninguna conciencia para nada porque yo estaba inmersa como buena profesora detrás del buró y dando clases de literatura del siglo XIX latinoamericano. Y escribía lo que me salía del corazón. Mis intereses tenían que ver más con el pasado que con el presente, porque mi tesis es de los aztecas. Entonces, fui a México a estudiar a los aztecas. Conocí a Elena Urrutia que es una profesora de México que se dedica al tema de la mujer, una directora de la revista *Femme*, y en aquel entonces ya había empezado a trabajar el problema del género. Y yo estaba en mi siglo XIX sin entrar en, ni saber nada de eso. Ella me llamó la atención a que casi todos mis narradores eran masculinos y además que había tanta riqueza en la narrativa femenina cubana, y así ella empezó a revelar cosas de que yo no me había dado cuenta. Y también otros amigos y escritores me decían que yo escribía sobre las experiencias personales y que, si iba a enfocar la experiencia cotidiana desde el punto de vista de *mi* óptica, tenía que ser en el punto de vista de las mujeres.

Pienso que lo trascendente parte de allí. Entonces, mi último libro [*El diablo son las cosas* (1988)] sigue esa misma inclinación a los pequeños munditos, pero ya con una madurez en los temas y sabiendo lo que quiero decir de verdad. Porque en el primero estuve tanteando. Sabía que quería decir cosas del conflicto de base de tensiones internas, pero no sabía como enfrentarlo. Yo no dudo en decir honestamente cómo era la sociedad, yo me forcé y quería hacer un realismo útil a la sociedad. E en esto es quizás donde yo me torcí también, porque mi inclinación era al humor negro, era todo este imaginario que fue censurado. Forcé la estructura de mi temática. Ya en el tercer libro, están todos los problemas del ser humano contemporáneo, la cubana actual, ahora con una lucidez que es completamente diferente. Después de que adquirí conciencia de género, casi todos los cuentos son de personajes femeninos y con un punto de vista femenino. Pero tampoco amarrándome a eso, es decir, sin fanatismo. No creo que debamos cometer el error machista de que "nada más el punto de vista tiene que ser masculino," o sea el inverso. Yo lo que quiero es que nos tomen en cuenta. Creo, más bien, que cada cual escribe como es, una sola persona, un individuo. Entre mis características están: yo soy cubana, mujer, habanera, blanca. Por lo tanto, escribo como blanca mujer

habanera y no puedo escribir como una negra vieja francesa de Martinica. Yo creo que cada uno escribe como lo que es.

BR: *¿Cómo caracteriza ud. la diferencia entre los escritores nacidos antes de la Revolución y los jóvenes que llegan a sus treinta años, criados y educados dentro del sistema revolucionario?*

MY: Yo pienso que hace unos años atrás, de repente se puso de moda la juvenilia, un salto abrupto de los viejos que ahora tienen sesenta o setenta años, a las que tienen ahora treinta, que en esa época tenían veinte. Quedamos la generación perdida (eso te lo digo con resentimiento porque pasamos una etapa muy oscura aquí) la que no llegó a tiempo para la repartición del "cake" de los viejos, y la otra de los jóvenes que vienen con la pequeña apertura que se dio en los ochenta. Algunos empezaron a lucrar con lo joven o con los temas de la mujer o de lo homosexual. De repente tuvimos los novísimos, los recontranovísimos y algunos se dieron cuenta de que estaban siendo utilizados y ya se están separando de eso. Los más jóvenes que están saliendo a la vida pública están abordando temas prohibidos—o que para ellos han sido prohibidos. No es que nosotros no lo hayamos hecho, sino que simplemente por tocar algunos temas o por decir algunas cosas las universidades te pillaban por muerto. Entonces, ahora la gente más joven está tocando temas tabúes; lo que a mí me preocupa es que algunos lo hagan para sobresalir. Por ejemplo, el tema gay. Es muy doloroso lo que pasaron muchas personas aquí. Los de ahora lo toman con mucha inseguridad y quizás es para estar en una antología, quizás es para que los inviten a viajar. Entonces, se están lucrando con la marginalidad. Como ahora se vende, entonces, "viva la pepa." Sin embargo, lo mismo ocurre con el tema de la mujer. Hay algunas personas que en mi cara me dijeron que ese tema no interesaba, cuando traje el tema de la mujer en el año 87. Entonces de repente el tema de la mujer es lucrativo y algunos son tan machistas que ni así lo aceptan. Otros, de verdad han adquirido conciencia de que es necesario—yo te diría que Abel Prieto, presidente de la UNEAC, ya tomó consciencia de que las mujeres tenemos nuestro lugar.

BR: *Y de allí el apoyo de la antología* Estatuas de sal. *¿Cómo evolucionó la idea y la producción de la antología?*

MY: Me metí a hacer esa antología porque me di cuenta que nadie la hacía, hice toda mi investigación gracias a la gente del Colegio de México, que tiene el Proyecto de Investigación y Estudios sobre la

Mujer (PIEM). En esos momentos aquí en Cuba ni se hablaba de la mujer ni había centro de la mujer. En México abordaron el tema conmigo y fue cuando yo adquirí conciencia de que había que recopilar esta narrativa y demostrarles que sí había muchas narradoras. De allí que la prueba más contundente es esta antología, que ha tenido mucho éxito. Con trescientas páginas y cerca de 50 autoras vamos a ver si van a seguir diciendo que "no hay" o "no existen" narradoras. Porque tampoco nos ponían en ningún jurado. No quiero contar las partes malas que ya pasaron porque todo es una etapa vencida. Pero todavía lo siguen haciendo. Hay que luchar todavía para que se acuerden de que una siente. Yo creo que ha llegado nuestra hora. Hay que saberla aprovechar y no dejarla pasar.

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KRISTAL, EFRAIN.
Temptation of the Word: The Novels of Mario Vargas Llosa.
Nashville: Vanderbilt, 1998. 256pp

Following Mario Vargas Llosa's disillusionment with socialism he was ostracized by the Latin American Left that once lionized him. Ever since, his work has often been dismissed with political arguments in academic circles. In *Temptation of the Word*, Efraín Kristal aims to correct this situation by studying the literary merits of Vargas Llosa's novels. In his analysis, Vargas Llosa's political convictions only serve to illuminate the intellectual background that informs his work during different periods of his life. By carefully examining the writer's craft, Kristal is able to demonstrate Vargas Llosa's greatness in the art of the narrative.

Kristal's book focuses primarily on the novels -from *The Time of the Hero* (1963) to *The Notebooks of Don Rigoberto* (1997)- but it also incorporates most of Vargas Llosa's prolific work, which includes plays and an extensive collection of essays. Kristal's methodology clearly reflects his view of literature, which as he admits in his "Introduction," has been influenced by critics such as Harold Bloom and George Steiner. Kristal's approach emphasizes the writer's dialogue with literary tradition and his objective is to provide a critical framework that "sheds light on how literary techniques, themes and character types appear, recur and are transformed" (xvi). Purposely staying away from what he calls "technical jargon," Kristal is able to elucidate the process of artistic creation in a manner that can be insightful for scholars as well as for readers less familiar with Vargas Llosa's work.

Kristal's analysis traces the influences –both artistic and intellectual- that inform each of the novels studied. Vargas Llosa's novels, as the writer himself indicates, are drawn from a wide variety of sources including autobiographical, literary, political and historical. But, as Kristal points out, "this does not imply that . . . [his] intention is informative or documentary" (28). In this practice, Vargas Llosa adheres to Flaubertian principles by transforming reality, while avoiding the "temptation" of trying to reproduce it. Thus, Vargas Llosa does not hesitate to distort, modify or "falsify" his sources while fusing them together in imaginative ways: "The literary world that emerges from this process gives the illusion of self-sufficiency and is undoubtedly his own" (30). However, Vargas Llosa's "appropriation" and "amalgamation" of sources has led many critics to focus on extra-literary

issues. Therefore, Kristal specifically states that he "has tried to avoid the fallacy of that literary criticism that overemphasizes Vargas Llosa's realism while overlooking his own inventions" (xvii). Through systematic research, he has been able to identify many of these sources and to highlight the significance of the writer's "recreations." His method allows the reader to appreciate Vargas Llosa's originality while underscoring the fact that it is not the real but the imaginary that matters from a literary perspective.

In a similar fashion, in what is one of the book's greatest contributions, Kristal explores the influence of specific literary works in the creation of Vargas Llosa's novels. He points out thematic, structural and even linguistic connections between these works, and traces the impact of writers such as Faulkner, Conrad, Tolstoy and Hugo on Vargas Llosa's writing. For example, by studying the drafts of Vargas Llosa's novels (housed at Princeton University), he discovers how the author's reading of Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* influenced character development in *The Green House*. He also shows how the characters and treatment of time in the construction of *The Time of the Hero* owe a debt to Faulkner's *Light in August*. It is particularly striking to notice the textual similarities he discovers between texts as dissimilar as *Aunt Julia and the Scriptwriter* and Joanot Martorell's *Tirant lo Blanc*. But probably the most fruitful of these connections is the one established between *The Real Life of Alejandro Mayta* and Conrad's *Under Western Eyes*. In this case, intertextuality goes beyond pure "borrowing" and clear parallels between Vargas Llosa's and Conrad's narrator. As Kristal explains, Vargas Llosa's "recreation" entails a correction of Conrad's views on objectivity in literature to reflect his own beliefs:

> The narrator is not concerned with the obvious inconsistencies nor with the difficulties of getting at the truth, because he is not interested in getting at the truth. He is interested in writing a novel, not history, but a novel inspired by the historical events. (144)

Another significant accomplishment of Kristal's book is to dispel the mystery surrounding the apparent complexity in the structure of Vargas Llosa's novels. According to Kristal, "Vargas Llosa's more ambitious novels, such as *The Green House*, are complex but not obscure: most of the apparent contradictions and deliberate ambiguities can be figured out" (48). His analysis of *The Green House*, perhaps the most thorough in the book, exemplifies the possibility of stripping a complex Vargas Llosa novel to its bare bones and using the analysis as a means to interpret the novel's meaning. He starts out by disentangling the various plots and subplots embedded in the novel and explaining the logistics

of the organization of each narrative sequence. He identifies the sources of each of the superimposed stories and explains how they relate to the main plot. He then proceeds to analyze other narrative techniques such as "delayed decodification" or "telescopic dialogues" –terms borrowed from other critics- as well as the way "complex references and hidden facts are combined with a simple plot" (50). His work is that of a detective, leaving the reader with a very clear understanding of the effort and inventiveness involved in the construction of this novel. Referring to *The Green House* itself, Kristal concludes that:

> One of Vargas Llosa's achievements is his capacity to combine the complexity of Faulknerian structures and the Joycean interior monologue with the plots of melodrama and the adventure story. Vargas Llosa's genius as a narrator lies in his ability to bring together complexity and simplicity and to make use of other works of literature in that process. (51)

Temptation of the Word is organized in five chapters that study Vargas Llosa's twelve novels in chronological order. The novels are discussed in Chapter 2: "The Novels of the 1960s," Chapter 3: "The Transition," Chapter 5: "The Novels of the 1980s." and in the "Conclusion." This division follows the writer's intellectual development over each period of time. Chapter 1: "The Writer's Commitment" and Chapter 4: "Against Wind and Tide" introduce the historical background and the intellectual influences that shed light on Vargas Llosa's ideological commitments. Figures such as Mariátegui, Salazar Bondy and Moro represent his early influences, while the readings of Camus, Berlin, Revel, Popper, and Bataille illuminate his more recent views.

The political content of Vargas Llosa's novels and his literary techniques changed significantly as he distanced himself from socialism and embraced neoliberalism in the 1980s. However, at all times, his literary convictions have faithfully reflected his political beliefs. The novels of his socialist period portray a corrupt capitalist society that is beyond reform. The novels of his transitional period, reiterate the themes of the 1960s, trading his pessimism for humor and irony. The novels of the neoliberal period delve into fanaticism as a source of violence and other social evils, and consider the possibility of channeling such passions through literature. *The War of the End of the World* (1981), which according to Kristal is Vargas Llosa's best novel, reflects unprecedented depth and also coincides with this change in his view of humanity:

> *The War of the End of the World* is a contribution to a literary tradition, including masterpieces by Stendhal and Tolstoy, about the propensity of humanity to idealize violence, either with the

> visions of the idealist or with the abstractions of the intellectual who fails to comprehend war–the most devastating collective experience of all. (124)

In the "Conclusion" of *Temptation of the Word*, Kristal reflects on Vargas Llosa's future direction, which he believes we have glimpsed in his 1993 novel *Death in the Andes*. In this novel, for the first time, violence takes place for no discernible reason. Despite Kristal's evident admiration for Vargas Llosa's work, he seems to think that it has yet to reach its climax: "He has not, however, ventured into the most complex theme in moral literature, the recognition by an individual of his personal guilt or responsibility for his own suffering or that of others" (198).

While political concerns have always been prevalent in Vargas Llosa's writing, Kristal foresees a new stage, exemplified by his most recent play, *Ojos Bonitos, Cuadros Feos* (1996), in which artistic concerns take precedence. Kristal emphasizes that Vargas Llosa's view of literature has been the one true constant throughout his work:

> Literature, for Vargas Llosa, is no longer a way to diagnose the evils of social injustice as he vehemently argued in the 1960s. It is a compensation for the imperfections inherent to the human condition. It is a controlled way for writers and readers to explore and perhaps exorcise those darker aspects of themselves that can endanger open societies . . . Vargas Llosa's views about the irrationalist nature of literary creation have remained the same for three decades. What has changed is his attempt to link them to a political vision. (119)

One crucial theme developed in Kristal's book is the critical reception of Vargas Llosa's work at different stages of his literary career. Because of the clear connection between his political views and his literary creations, literary criticism of Vargas Llosa has been confrontational, primarily based on a political standpoint. As Kristal points out, "One of the troubling fallacies in Vargas Llosa literary criticism –practiced by tendentious critics and by eminent literary figures alike- is to confuse the merits of Vargas Llosa's novels with the merits of their political content" (xiv). In his analysis of Vargas Llosa literary criticism, Kristal demonstrates how the same particular work could be praised and degraded by the same critic before and after Vargas Llosa's break with the Latin American Left. In one representative case, Kristal proves that the same individual used identical criterion to call Vargas Llosa a progressive writer in 1968 and a "bourgeois" writer in 1971.

Perhaps Kristal's greatest achievement in this book has been to condense his thorough analyses of Vargas Llosa's twelve novels, combined with his intellectual biography and a discussion of his criticism,

in a book of 256 pages. It is evident that Kristal has more to say about each of the novels, but that he chose to offer only a sample of his discoveries about Vargas Llosa's creative process. Even though the book is about the novels, some readers may wish that it contained equally thorough analyses of the author's plays and essays. Nevertheless, we are left with a critical framework that can be applied to the rest of Vargas Llosa's work. In the end it becomes clear that the intellectual project behind *Temptation of the Word* is a defense of literature. With it, Kristal provides a new paradigm for the study of other Latin American authors whose work has suffered from the same critical biases that Vargas Llosa's literature has endured.

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